

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ALIGARH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

THE
WAQIAT-I-ALAMGIRI
OF
AQIL KHAN RAZI

*(An account of the war of succession between
the sons of the Emperor Shah Jahan)*

Edited By
KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAJI ZAFAR HASAN, O.B.E

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Inscribed
to the
SACRED MEMORY OF THE LATE
KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB Dr. SIR
MUHAMMAD MUZAMILULLAH KHAN,
K.C.S.I., LL.D.

Rais-i-Azam, Bhikampur
Sometime Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh
Scholar, Patriot, Philanthropist

وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ فَلَهُ أَجْرُهُ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِ

PREFACE

More than fifteen years ago a manuscript of the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* was brought to my notice, and I was able to acquire it for my private manuscript collection. On perusal of the manuscript I was convinced of the desirability of editing and publishing it in order to bring it within the reach of the students of history; but my official occupations stood in my way. Nevertheless with that object in view, I purchased another manuscript of the work which happily fell into my hands.

On my retirement from service in the Archaeological Survey of India, Professor Muhammad Habib of the Muslim University, Aligarh, induced me to edit the book, suggesting that I should offer it for publication to the Aligarh Historical Institute. The Managing Committee of the Institute kindly agreed to include it among the series it is bringing out, and decided to meet the expenses out of the donation of Rs. 6,000/- received from the Bhikampur Estate through the kindness of Mr. S.A.T. Naqvi, I.C.S., Collector, Aligarh, and Mr. Qutbu-d-Din, Special Manager, Court of Wards. I express my deep sense of gratitude to the members of the Committee—Nawab Sadr Yar Jang Sahib, Mr. M.B. Ahmad, I.C.S., Khan Bahadur Obaidur-Rahman Sahib, Professor A.B.A. Halim, Professor Muhammad Habib, Mr. S.A. Rashid and Dr. Saiyid Moinu-l-Haq—for their enthusiastic support in the prosecution of the work. The late Khan Bahadur Dr. Sir Nawab Muhammad Muzammillullah Khan, K.C.S.I., LL.D., of Bhikampur was, as those who came into contact with him will always remember, not only a benefactor of educational institutions, and in particular of the Muslim University, but also an eminent scholar of Arabic and Persian. It is a privilege for me to have this work inscribed to his sacred memory—

شادم از زندگانی خویش که کارے کردم

The manuscripts of the *Waqiat i-Alamgiri* are not rare and they can be found in both Indian and foreign libraries (1). I have used four manuscripts described hereafter (2).

(1) The three manuscripts preserved in the Lytton Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh, may be specially mentioned here. Two of them belong to the Abdu-s- Salam collection and one to the Subhanullah collection, but owing to the strict restrictions imposed by the donors upon their use I was unable to utilize them for editing the present text.

(2) While I was busy with the task of editing the book, I learnt that it had already been published by Dr. Muhammad Abdullah Chaghtai at Lahore. The examination of a printed copy of that edition, however, led me to decide that I should carry on my work.

In the course of collating the manuscript I noticed that there were many variations in the text. Presumably this was due to the use by the author of unfamiliar words, which, not being clearly intelligible to the transcribers, were read by them in various ways. The copy for the press was made from MS. No. 1, which is the best, but the edited text is not based on it entirely. Such readings of the doubtful words as appeared to me to be most appropriate and were probably the author's own words have been adopted in the text, while the variant readings have been given in the foot-notes. The lacunas in the manuscripts have not been noted, but the text has been completed by careful collaboration. The rubrics in the manuscripts dividing the book into several chapters are not similar, nor are the divisions of the text into chapters uniform. They do not seem to have formed part of the author's work, but were added by the transcribers according to their own taste. The rubrics of MS. No. 1 are more detailed, they have been adopted as headings of the chapters in the Persian text.

The manuscripts used by me are described below:—

I. *Manuscript belonging to the Editor and indicated as (الف).* It is written in fair *Nastaliq* characters and comprises 39 folios, 9½ inches by 6 inches, with 19 lines to a page, some pages being written in diagonal lines. The colophon containing the name of the transcribers and the date of transcription runs as follows:—

نسخه واقعات عالمگیری سن تصنیف عقل خان رازی بنابر
سیدم شهر جہادی اثنی سنہ یکہزار در صد سی و چہار ہجری
روز سد شنبہ وقت یکنیم پاس روز بقیہاندہ در بلدہ دارالاسارۃ
لکھنؤ در چہاونی مبارک بخط احقر اہلباد خوشوقت راے
صدرت انعام پزیر وقت -

"This manuscript copy of the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, compiled by Aqil Khan Razi, was transcribed by the humblest of men, Khushwaqt Rai, on Tuesday, the third of the month of *Jumadi-us-Sani*, the year one thousand two hundred and thirty-four Hijra (30th March, 1818 A.D.) at one and a half *pases* (watches) before the close of the day at the auspicious *chhaoni* (cantonment) in the Daru-l-Imarat, Lucknow."

II. *A manuscript belonging to the Hardinge Library, Delhi, No. 32, and indicated as (ب).*—It is written in clear

Nastaliq characters, and contains 116 folios, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 6 inches, with 13 lines to a page. The colophon, which bears no date, is given below :—

تواریخ معنی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب بادشاہ غازی نذر اللہ
سرفراز باقی نام رسید و تمام کردید اللہ تو بنیق والمستعان العاقبت
بالخیر والسلام - بخط محض بے ربط بندہ ہر دیو سنگہ قوم
سروج در دار السور بہر قہہ پور پلاس خاطر مظهر لطاف و کرم
معین اخلاق اقم لالہ صاحب بگنا تہہ جی عامل کچہری حضور
تخصیل در سالہ بے سامانی و کم فرصتی پیرایہ نقل پر شانیہ شد۔

"*Tawarikh-i-Muhaiyu-d-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb*, the victorious king—may God illuminate his grave—was brought to completion with the assistance of God, may the end be good and peaceful! It was transcribed with the crude pen of the servant, Hardeo Singh of the Furoj (?) clan at Daru-s-Surur Bharatpur in uncertainty and haste for Lala Sahib Jagannath Ji, the Superintendent of the court of Huzur Tahsil, who is courteous and benevolent and possesses amiable disposition."

III. *A manuscript belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Curzon Collection, No. 698 and indicated as (ج).—*It is written in fine *Nastaliq* characters, and comprises 118 pages of foolscap folio size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, each page containing 15 lines. As stated in the colophon it was copied from an ancient manuscript, dated 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.), and preserved in the Library of Daru-l-Ulum Nadwatu-l-Ulama, Lucknow. The manuscript is defective, many blank spaces being left out by the transcriber for the words which he could not decipher. Its colophon runs as follows :—

این "نسخہ واقعات عالمگیری" از نسخہ مرقومہ شہر
رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۱۷۱ کہ در کتب خانہ "دارالعلوم ندوۃ العلماء
لکھنؤ" اودہ موجود است بہامہ محرم الحرام سنہ ۱۳۲۷ھ نقل شد

"This manuscript copy of the '*Wagiat-i-Alamgiri*' was transcribed during the sacred month of *Muharram*, the year 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.) from the manuscript which is dated the blessed month of *Ramazan* 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.) and is preserved in the Library of 'Daru-l-Ulum Nadwatu-l-Ulama, Lucknow', Oudh".

IV.—A manuscript belonging to the Editor and indicated as (د).—It is written in indifferent *Nastaliq* characters, except for a few pages which are transcribed in the *Shikasta* script, and comprises 81 folios, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The number of lines in the pages is not uniform, and ranges from 11 to 21. It is the oldest of all the four manuscripts, but contains many mistakes with blank spaces left out for rubrics. After finishing the text, the transcriber has added a few lines, lavishly praising the equitable administration of the period when the book was composed (i.e. Aurangzeb's reign), and bewailing the hardship and adversity of his own times (Shah Alam II's reign). The remark runs as follows :—

تہام شد وقائع عالمگیری بعون اوتعالی شاه در حینے کد بہ عدالت
پیشہ و بصفت اندیشہ کہ از احکام حکمش رعایا بر آیا کہ ودایع
از ن سبھانہ اند سرنج الحال چہ سا کہ از قوت و زور و اکل و شرب
از منہ دار حساب می بیند و خود را کشنہ سی سازند عجیب زمانہ
شاہانہار ہر شہنشاہ روزگار ساری شدہ کہ باین سرائب علوی امانت
ایزدی را سرتقی نہر دہدہ در حد ایش نہ عالم را ساو کہ و نہ دہانیان را
شوقینے کہ خواہد بخیر جهان سردر شدہ کہ مرا کہ ان قسم عنایت
میشود۔

"The *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* was finished with the help of the glorious God at the time when owing to the equitable administration of the just and upright Sultan, the people, placed by God under his charge, were in easy circumstances, as compared to us, who are dying for daily food and livelihood. What an unhappy mood has pervaded the Emperor that inspite of such an exalted position he has ignored the trust of God. With his justice he does not do good to the people, nor does he show any favour to them, as if he is obsessed with the evils of the world that such an attitude has been adopted by him".

There is a colophon containing the name of the transcriber and the date of transcription :—

تہمت تہام شد کار سن نظام شد۔ کتابہ نسخہ عالمگیر نامہ (۱)
بروز چہ بتاریخ بیست نہم ۲۹ شہر جماد الاول (۲) روز

(1) The scribe refers to the book here as *Alamgir Nama*, while in the remark quoted above it is referred to as *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*.

(2) The correct spelling is جہادی الاول

ساوس سنه ۳۸۱۱ (۳) یکہزار یکصد و ہشتاد سہ بدستخط بندہ
 درگاہ دلسکھدرائے والد بد سنگھ ابن ہر کرن قوم دھوسر ساکن
 قصبہ کانود در شاگردی خلیفہ صاحب شرف الدین جیودر قصبہ
 ربواری حسن ترقیم یافت

"(The book) is finished, and my task is brought to its completion. The manuscript copy of the book of *Alamgir Nama* was transcribed on Friday, the 29th of the month of *Jumadiu-l-Awwal*, the day of *Mawas*, the year 1183 (Hijra) (30th September, 1769 A.D.), by the slave, Dilsukh Rai, son of Budh Singh, son of Harkaran, of the Dhusar caste and resident of the town of Kanud, under the tutelage of Khalifa Sahib Sharafu-d-Din Jiu in the town of Rewari".

The Institute gave me full freedom to make whatever arrangements I thought best for the printing of the book. Professor Muhammad Habib, however, kindly looked through the Introduction and carefully compared the English Summary with the Persian Text. On the ground that "the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* challenges comparison with Bernier and must be explored both for detailed facts and for atmosphere" he suggested that the English Summary should be enlarged so as to include every thing that is of any historical importance, and he himself took the trouble of amplifying it. I am in duty bound to express my grateful thanks for all the pains he has taken in the matter. The English Summary does not pretend to be a true translation; there would be no profit in needlessly attempting to find English equivalents for all the rhetorical adjectives, metaphors and figures of speech of our author. But I do hope that for the sake of the English reader there has been included in the Summary every thing that really matters.

My sincere thanks are also due to Maulvi Qadir-i-Azam, Mr. Maqbul Hasan B.A., B.T., and Saiyid Rashidul Haq, M.Sc., for their valuable help which they ungrudgingly gave me in collating the manuscripts.

DELHI,
 October, 1945.

ZAFAR HASAN

(3) Contrary to the usual practice the figures are written from right to left.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction, 1-3.
2. Memoir of the author, 4-6.
3. Summary of the Waqiat-i-Alamgiri, 6-56.

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(ii) Shah Jahan appoints Dara Shukoh as his heir-apparent, 8—the latter conceives a design for the destruction of his brothers, 8—Shah Jahan distributes his Empire among his sons, 8—Aurangzeb is allowed to proceed to the Deccan, 8—he makes an agreement with Shah Shuja for mutual support and defence against the evil designs of Dara Shukoh, 8—Aurangzeb's campaign against Qutbu-l-Mulk, the king of Golconda, for the rescue of Mir Jumla, 9—flight of Qutbu-l-Mulk from Bhagnagar to Haidarabad, 9—Mir Jumla is sent to Shah Jahan who appoints him Wazir with the title of Muazzam Khan, 10—expedition against Ali Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, at the advice of Mir Jumla, 10—recall of Imperial forces which were sent to the Deccan with Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan, 10—Aurangzeb hears of intrigues against him in the Central Government, 12.

(iii) Aurangzeb marches with an army of thirty thousand to Akbarabad, 12—he enters into an agreement with Murad Bakhsh and wins him over to his side, 13—he fights Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan near Ujjain, 14—Jaswant Singh flies from the battle-field and Qasim Khan is wounded, 16—Aurangzeb receives a letter from Jahanara, 16—he sends a petition to Shah Jahan in reply, 17.

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(v) The officers at Akbarabad hasten to offer their allegiance to Aurangzeb, 24—Aurangzeb marches from Sammugarh and stays at Bagh-i-Dahra, 24—his correspondence with Shah Jahan, who calls him for an interview but he does not agree, 24—Jahanara visits Aurangzeb but her embassy fails, 28—Aurangzeb decides to meet Shah Jahan but subsequently gives up the intention, 29—he captures Agra Fort and places Shah Jahan in confinement, 30—he proceeds to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) to subdue Dara Shukoh, 30—Murad Bakhsh adopts an unfriendly attitude and is imprisoned, 30.

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(ix) Pursuit of Shah Shuja, 47— flight of Sultan Muhammad to Shah Shuja, 50— his return and imprisonment in the Gwalior Fort, 54— victory over Shah Shuja, 54.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, the Persian text and English summary of which is being placed before the public, deals with the history of the war of succession, which took place among the sons of Shah Jahan during the life-time of that Emperor. Strictly speaking, it is a memoir on the struggle of Aurangzeb for the crown, and describes his accomplishments, his expeditions in the Deccan, his conflicts with Dara Shukoh and Shah Shuja, the confinement of Shah Jahan and Sultan Murad, and Aurangzeb's accession to the throne. During the war the author, Aqil Khan Razi, who had been in the service of Aurangzeb, was staying at Daulatabad in the Deccan, but soon after the accession he was called to the court. Consequently, he was not an eye-witness of the events related by him, but he appears to have based his memoir on the information he collected from official records and from persons who had actually participated in the war. The characteristic feature of the work is that the author has shown himself free from bias, and has abstained from making comments on any of the incidents, which he seems to have presented in their true colour.

Except the *Alamgir Nama*, the book under notice is the only contemporary Persian record of the fratricidal war, which raised Aurangzeb to the throne. But the *Alamgir Nama* is a court chronicle and, as the author of it himself states, it was written under the personal instruction and supervision of Aurangzeb (1). Consequently, it is one-sided and not free from partiality. The author of the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, however, shows himself unbiased and unaffected by any undue influence. He praises Aurangzeb for his learning and piety, equity and justice, dignity and grace, and military skill and prowess; but at the same time he mentions his vanquished brothers with due respect, and abstains from sarcastic or undignified remarks about them. While he lays bare the indiscretion of Dara Shukoh in his high-handed dealings with his brothers and in his persistent attempts to harass them, he does not hesitate in exposing the diplomatic manoeuvres of Aurangzeb. He states in plain words the stratagems devised by Aurangzeb to achieve his objects, but offers no comments and leaves the reader to form his own opinion about them. The author gives us extracts and summaries of the correspondence between Aurangzeb on one side and the Princess Jahanara and Shah Jahan on the other, as well as an

(1) *Alamgir Nama* by Muhammad Kazim, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 23.

abstract of the conversation between the Princess and Aurangzeb, during which the Princess requested him to visit Shah Jahan, submit his grievances to his father and bring the sanguinary affair to an end by a peaceful settlement, for which she suggested tentative terms. He has also described the circumstances which prevented Aurangzeb from paying a visit to Shah Jahan, although he actually started from his camp for the purpose. The events relating to Sultan Murad's arrest and imprisonment, the pursuit of Dara Shukoh and his ultimate defeat at Ajmer, and the battles with Shah Shuja ending in the destruction of his power and his flight to Assam have been narrated in detail, but curiously enough there is no reference to the execution of Dara Shukoh. It appears that the author preferred to confine himself to the narration of those events only concerning which he could obtain correct information from reliable sources. As regards authenticity of his information, it may be stated with confidence that although he did not himself witness the events related by him, he was familiar with people who had participated in them, and he was also in a position to get access to official papers. Since he preferred to remain incognito, carefully avoiding any reference to himself in the text, no ulterior motive, no desire of pleasing the authorities of the day or blackmailing any one's character can be attributed to him. These facts enhance the value of the work as a historical record, the importance of which cannot be overrated.

The style of the *Waqiat-i Alamgiri*, like most Persian prose-works of its period, is florid and ornate, abounding in rhetorical embellishments and overlaid with metaphors. In accordance with the literary taste of his time, the author frequently indulges in exaggeration and verbosity, but his choice of words and measured phrases lends a dignity and grace to his composition, which is delightful and charming. Judged by its own standard, it is a fine piece of Persian literature.

Unlike most Persian works, the *Waqiat-i Alamgiri* does not contain a preface or introduction, in which the author, after writing *Hamd* (praises of Allah), *Na't* (praises of the Holy Prophet), *Maqabat* (praises of the members of the Prophet's family, the four pious Caliphs and the spiritual guide or *Pir* of the writer, if any) and *Madh* (eulogy of the reigning monarch) (1), generally makes some references to himself and gives the name of the book and the date of its composition. The *Waqiat* begins with a commentary on the virtues of Aurangzeb. The name of the book and its author is not given anywhere in the text. The work has, consequently, been called by different titles in the colophons of the manuscripts by the scribes according to their information and knowledge. The colophons of certain manuscripts also bear the name

(1) It was a convention with the mediæval Persian and Arabic writers to begin their works with *Hamd*, *Na't*, etc., and in India this practice was followed even by most of the Hindu authors.

of the author, but here again there is a disagreement among them. The various titles by which the work is known are: (1) *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, (2) *Zafar Nama-i-Alamgiri*, (3) *Waqaya-i-Alamgiri*, (4) *Halat-i-Alamgiri*, (5) *Tawarikh-i-Mukhyu-d-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb* and (6) *Aurang Nama*. As regards the authorship it is generally ascribed to Aqil Khan Razi, while the name of Mir Khan, Governor of Kabul, has also been mentioned in that connection (1). But Khafi Khan, author of *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, when referring to this work, definitely clears these points. He gives the title of *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* to our book and states that it was compiled by Aqil Khan Khafi. His words are as follows:-

اگرچه مؤلفان عهد نویس هر سه عالمگیر نامه منزوی ساختن
اعلیٰ حضرت را موافق مرضی مبارک معجل بزبان قام بر آورده
اما عاقل خاں خافی در واقعات عالمگیری تألیف خود بشرح و بسط
ذکر کرده (2)

Translation

"Although the historiographers of the reign (of Aurangzeb), who compiled all the three *Alamgir Namas* in compliance with the august wishes, have only very briefly described the incident of the confinement of His Majesty (Shah Jahan), yet Aqil Khan Khafi has related it with details in his work, the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*."

Nothing can be stated with any certainty about the date of the composition of the *Waqiat*. The last event to which it refers is the death of Shah Jahan in 1076 A.H. (1666 A.D.); and it may, therefore, be inferred that the work was not completed before that date. Ten years after his accession (in 1668 A.D.) Aurangzeb promulgated an order prohibiting the compilation of the history of his reign (3). If the absence of a preface and introduction, so that the *Waqiat* may not look like a formal historical treatise, and the author's avoidance of all references to himself are in any way due to this alleged order of Aurangzeb, then we may conclude that the book was written some time between 1078 and 1108 A.H. (1668-1696 A.D.), i.e., between the promulgation of Aurangzeb's order and the author's death.

(1) See the *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscript in the British Museum London* by Charles Rien, vol. 1, p. 265 No: Add. 26234; and *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, by Herman Ethel, vol. 1, column 132, No: 345.

(2) *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* by Khafi Khan, Persian Text, Bibliotheca Indica, vol. 11, p. 32.

(3) *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* vol II, p. 211.

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR

Mir Askari, better known as Aqil Khan Razi, comes from a family of the Sayyids of Khwaf in Khurasan but he was born in India (1). He was an early follower of Aurangzeb, who at the time of his accession conferred upon him the title of Aqil Khan (2). His official career was very chequered: he abandoned his rank and had twice to lead a retired life, but the royal favour extended to him persuaded him to resume the service of the state. From the references made to him in the historical works, it may be inferred that he did not indulge in politics and court intrigues, but preferred to lead a peaceful life devoted to literary pursuits. Poetry was his favourite subject. He left behind him a *Diwan* and several *Masnawis* (3), but in prose no other work, except the *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, is ascribed to him. The poetical surname of Razi is said to have been assumed by him after the saint Burhanu-d-Din Raz-i-Ilahi, in whom he had a great faith (4), and he was called Khafi because of his ancestral home at Khwaf.

Aqil Khan, as has been stated already, began his official career in the service of Prince Aurangzeb. When the Prince marched from the Deccan to Agra with the intention of visiting Shah Jahan who was ill (5), Aqil Khan held the post of Second *Bakhshi*. He was left behind in charge of the city of Daulatabad (6). Subsequently, the fort of Daulatabad was placed under his charge, and his rank was raised to 1500 *zat* and 500 *sawars* (7). After the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, he was ordered to accompany Prince Muazzam to the court (8). Here he was appointed *Faujdar* of the *Doab* (the country between the Ganges and the Jumna), and his rank was raised to 1500 *zat* and 1000 *sawars* (9). In the year 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.) he was allowed to retire and relinquish his rank on account of ill-health, and was

- (1) *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* vol. II, p. 690, No. Or 347; *Maasiru-l-Umara* by Shah Nawaz Khan, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. II, p. 821.
- (2) *Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 690; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 821.
- (3) *Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 690; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 823.
- (4) *Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 690; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 823. Shaikh Burhanu-d-Din was a saint at Burhanpur. He was much revered for piety, and Aurangzeb, before he proceeded to Agra to fight for throne, attended upon him to ask for his blessings. It was, however, with great difficulty that the saint agreed to see Aurangzeb (see *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 11).
- (5) *Alamgir Nama* by Muhammad Kazim, Persian Text, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 41; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* by Mustaid Khan, Persian text, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 4; *Maasiru-l-Umara* Vol. II, p. 821.
- (6) *Alamgir Nama*, p. 44 & 194; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 821, has Aurangabad in place of Daulatabad.
- (7) *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 193—94 and 401.
- (8) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 26.
- (9) *Alamgir Nama*, p. 478.

granted an annual pension of nine thousand rupees (1). In 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.), Aurangzeb on his return-journey from Kashmir held a Darbar at Lahore, and Aqil Khan, who had been staying there, agreed to enter the royal service again and was granted his rank, which was raised to 2000 *zat* and 700 *sawars* (2). He appears to have joined the retinue of the Emperor, who, on his arrival at Delhi, appointed him to the post of *Darogha of Ghul Khana* (3). Three years later, in 1077 A.H. (1666-67 A.D.), his rank was further raised to 2500 *zat* and 700 *sawars* (4). It is not known how long he worked as the *Darogha of Ghul Khana*, but we learn that in the year 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) he held the post of *Darogha of Nak Chauki*. He retired again from the state-service with a pension of twelve thousand rupees, which was sanctioned in 1087 A.H. (1676-77 A.D.) (5). During his retirement he seems to have maintained his relations with the court, as a *Khilat* and a dagger worth seven thousand rupees were conferred upon him by Prince Shah Alam under the royal orders in 1089 A.H. (1678-79 A.D.) (6). Soon after we find him appointed to the post of *Bakhshi-i-Tan* in the year 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) (7). In the 24th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1681 A.D.) he was appointed governor of the province of *Daru-l-Khilafat Delhi*, and a *Khilat* was conferred upon him together with a dagger studded with jewels and a string of pearls (8). He held this post till his death, which occurred in 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.) (9).

It is said that Aqil Khan was strict and bold in the performance of his duties, that he showed a spirit of independence and frankness, that he was arrogant towards his superiors and maintained self possession in poverty and privation. He is given the credit for being generous and benevolent, honest and sincere, and

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- (1) *Alumgir Nama* p. 630. Khafi Khan (*Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* Vol. 11, p. 127) says that he was granted a pension of fifty thousand rupees while the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 821 records the amount of pension as ten thousand rupees; Mustaid Khan (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 37), however, reduces it to one thousand rupees only.
- (2) *Alumgir Nama*, p. 843; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 821.
- (3) *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, Vol. 11, p. 177; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. 11, p. 8214. The term "*Ghul Khana*" refers to the chamber of private audience, now known as the *Diwan-i-Khas* and it should not be confused with the royal bath-room (*Hammam*). The post of the *Darogha of Ghul Khana* was similar to the office of the Chamberlain.
- (4) *Alumgir Nama*, p. 981; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 822.
- (5) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 82 and 153; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 822.
- (6) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 168.
- (7) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 176; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 822.
- (8) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 195; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 822.
- (9) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 383; *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 822.

steadfast in his religion (1). It is not improbable that his strictness and arrogance may have been responsible for his temporary retirements from service, but his sterling merits received due recognition from Aurangzeb and never failed to recommend him to royal favour.

SUMMARY OF THE WAQIAT-I-ALAMGIRI

I

The book begins with a eulogy of Aurangzeb, who is praised for his noble parentage, amiable disposition, formidable courage, equitable justice, honest behaviour, strict compliance with the Islamic law and many other excellent qualities and accomplishments. 'He is king *darwesh* in character, a ruler possessing Divine virtues. His holy nature is free from human defects, and his sacred inner spirit is exempted from the temptations of the flesh'. 'Fate has assigned the bridle of the steed of the fortune to the control of his servants and it may be said without exaggeration that in peace and in war, in boldness and in firmness of purpose, in strength and in patience, none like His Majesty has arisen in the House of Timur'. Specifically it is related that he was a profound scholar and an expert in the art of calligraphy; that he applied himself to the copying of the *Quran* as a sacred task inspite of the heavy burden of the state affairs; that he learnt the *Quran* by heart (2) after his accession to the throne; that he was strict in saying his prayers and in the observance of many other pious duties and 'kept most hours of the night alive with his devotions'; that he often fasted and had reduced his diet and increased supererogatory prayers. 'After morning prayers and devotions he always gives the oppressed and the injured admission to his private apartment, and hearing their complaints directly, applies the ointment of the justice to the wounds of their heart; in addition to this the written petitions of complaints are submitted to him in the harem for his perusal, and he passes orders on them under his own signatures and hands them over to the officers concerned for necessary action; again after the midday prayer he calls those officers of the state to his presence for diligent inquiries and extensive investigation'.

(1) *Maasiru-l-Umra*. Vol. II, pp. 822-3. See also *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 376, where Aqil Khan is mentioned as one of the most honest and benevolent officers of Aurangzeb.

(2) Prior to Aurangzeb no member of the House of Timur is known to have been a *Haftz* of the *Quran* (i.e., to have learnt the *Quran* by heart). This deficiency in his religious study during his boy-hood was made good by him at an advanced age when he became independent, although at that stage he was labouring under the disadvantage that he could not devote his undivided attention to the sacred task, nor was his memory so sharp as it had been in his boy-hood and youth. It may be mentioned that Zebu-n-Nisa, one of his daughters, was also a *Haftza*,

Aurangzeb was born in the night of Sunday, the 15th of the month of *Ziqada*, the year 1027 A. H. (3rd November 1618 A. D.) at Dohad in the *Suba* of Gujrat (now Bombay Presidency). Talib Kalim, the poet laureate of Shah Jahan, found the date of his birth in the chronogram "*Aftab-i-Alamtab*" minus *Alif* (1). On reaching the year of discretion he distinguished himself by rectitude and amiable manners, dignity and eminence, fortitude and courage, so that 'the small and the great took the omen of rulership of His Majesty; his brothers and the great *Khans*, calculating his achievements, began to reckon with this fact; and everyone, who had any wisdom and intelligence, marking the signs of wealth and authority on his august forehead, knew for certain that time would ultimately place the reins of government and royalty in the power of His Majesty's servants'.

[Our author does not take the trouble of giving a consecutive account of the career of Aurangzeb till the beginning of the war of succession. The only incident of which he has cared to give a somewhat detailed description is an elephant-fight at Akbarabad (Agra), in which Aurangzeb showed remarkable self-possession and courage and had narrow escape]. One day when His Majesty Shah Jahan, the *Sahibqiran-i-Sani*, appeared in the apartment of *Darshan* to show himself to the people, he ordered an elephant-fight. Two huge elephants were made to engage in a combat, and they grappled so ferociously that the fire-works and other attempts to disentangle them failed. As the cloud of smoke from fire works and dust rendered the sight of the combat invisible from the *Darshan*, the princes came down to view it at close quarters. They mounted their horses and took their stand near the scene of struggle. Since the fighting would not come to an end, His Majesty also mounted on a horse and came to a corner of the field. Out of respect for His Majesty and the arrangements made by the heralds, the crowd withdrew and the noise made by it subsided, and the field was left open. Incidentally the two fighting elephants also disengaged themselves at that time and took rest for a while, standing opposite to each other with blood-shot eyes. All of a sudden one of them ran towards Aurangzeb, who was still a boy. The elephant-driver tried his best to control the brute, but it would not heed him. The people in the elephant's path dispersed so that there was no obstacle between him and Aurangzeb. 'The prince, inspite of his tender age, showed no anxiety or nervousness, but faced the brute straight like Rustam or Bahman. A great howl rose from the people at this sight and reached the ethereal sphere'. Standing in his stirrups, Aurangzeb flung a spear at the head of the elephant with all his might. Enraged at this stroke, the brute twisted its trunk round Aurangzeb's horse and threw it to the

(1) The numerical value of "*Aftab-i-Alamtab*" is 1028, and deducting one from it, i.e., the numerical value of "*Alif*", there remains 1027

ground, but the prince jumped up, drew his sword and attacked the raging beast. Providentially, at this moment the other elephant suddenly ran forward to make an assault on its opponent, and the latter turned its attention from the prince towards it. Thus Aurangzeb was saved from a fatal accident. This happened on Monday, the 27th of *Ziqada* 1042, when Aurangzeb was only fifteen years old.

Among the many military expeditions of Aurangzeb mention may be made of the battle of Balkh against Abdul Aziz Khan, the ruler of Turan, on the 9th of Jumadiu-l-Awwal, 1057 A. D. (1647 A. D.). The event is narrated in detail in the history of the reign of Shah Jahan, and it shows the boldness, military skill, fortitude and endurance of Aurangzeb.

II

Dara Shukoh was appointed by Shah Jahan as his heir-apparent. 'His Highness (*An Janab*), on account of arrogance and pride, which are the worst evils of mankind, began to suppose, in fact to believe, that he was by right and hereditary claim the ruler of the extensive empire of Hindustan and the substitute of His Majesty Shah Jahan, and he made it his object to put an end to the existence of his brothers, who were co-heirs and partners in the Kingdom and Throne. He was constantly planning this in his mind; publicly as well as secretly he strove his utmost to attain this ignoble aim. Aurangzeb and the other high-minded princes, becoming aware of this, also began to make plans for the preservation of their life and honour, and the management of their affairs. Insecure from such a powerful enemy, who had great dignity and power and a large number of helpers and followers, so far as possible they tried to protect themselves; and secretly planning to collect the means for warding off his evil designs, they permitted themselves no negligence or carelessness in this difficult task.' In order to maintain peace among his sons, Shah Jahan distributed his empire among them, the province of Bengal being assigned to Shah Shuja, the province of the Deccan to Aurangzeb and the province of Gujrat to Sultan Murad.

In the year 1062 A. H. (1652 A. D.), when Shah Jahan was staying at Kabul, Aurangzeb and Shah Shuja were allowed to proceed to their respective provinces. On their arrival at Akbarabad (Agra), they entertained each other for six days; for three days Aurangzeb was a guest of Shah Shuja, and similarly for three days Shah Shuja was the guest of Aurangzeb. The relations of the two brothers were further strengthened by matrimonial alliances: a daughter of Shah Shuja was engaged to Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, and a daughter

of Aurangzeb to Zainul-l-Abidin, the son of Shah Shuja. On that occasion they also informed each other of the secrets of their hearts, and opening their lips to discuss their common affairs said "Their elder brother, like a wolf, is thirsty for the blood of his (younger) brothers. At present, when the shadow of His Majesty the Sahib Qiran-i-Sani is spread over the heads of the people, we are not safe from his designs. God protect us. On the day, time puts the reins of Government in his hands peace, rest and security will turn away their faces from us and our joy of life will be gone. It will be impossible for us to struggle with him then. Under these circumstances it seems wise and advisable, that we three brothers, adopting the path of unity and alliance should, with our united force and strength, extinguish the fire of his evil and break the furnace of his strength and power". They strengthened their agreements and the foundations of their friendship and sincerity with oaths and pious declarations.

While Aurangzeb was busy with the management of his province it so happened that Mir Jumla (1), the Prime Minister of Qutbu-l-Mulk (2), the king of Golconda, having been oppressed by his master approached Aurangzeb for protection. The matter was referred to Shah Jahan, who issued orders that Mir Jumla should be saved from his enemies and from the persecution of Qutbu-l-Mulk, and sent to the court. On receipt of these orders Aurangzeb sent a letter to Qutbu-l-Mulk, saying that as his son, Sultan Muhammad, intended to go to his uncle in Bengal by way of Orissa it would be appropriate if Qutbu-l-Mulk afforded him all facilities, he needed, in passing through his territory. Qutbu-l-Mulk 'placed the finger of consent on his eye-ball' and set himself to make preparations for the hospitality of the Prince. But the Prince, instead of going as a guest, proceeded with all the equipment of war and was followed by Aurangzeb himself. It was not till the Prince had reached Bhagnagar, that Qutub-l-Mulk learnt of the real state of affairs; and realizing his dangerous position, fled with his family from Bhagnagar to Haiderabad, taking with him such valuable property as could be removed in that confusion. The Prince took possession of Bhagnagar; most

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- (1) Mir Jumla, whose real name was Mir Muhammad Said, was a Sayid and belonged to Urdistan in Persia. On his arrival in Golconda he was shown great favour by its ruler, Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, who raised him to a high rank and position. His son Muhammad Amin Khan incurred the displeasure of Qutb Shah by his improper behaviour, and Mir Jumla threw himself on the protection of Shah Jahan, who took him in his service, conferred upon him the title of Muazzam Khan and the rank of 6,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sawars*, and appointed him to the post of prime minister. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol 111. pp. 530 et seq).
 - (2) Abdullah Qutb Shah was the sixth Sultan of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty of Golconda. He reigned for many years under the protection of the Mughal Empire and died in 1674-A.D. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Abul Hasan, better known as Tana Shah. (See the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Beale).

of the palaces and work-shops were plundered, with the result that huge spoils including excellent books, China wares, etc., fell into the possession of the invader. Aurangzeb on reaching there confiscated to himself most of the precious and rare goods and articles. However, peace was made; Mir Jumla was rescued by Aurangzeb 'from the whirlpool of misfortune and distress'; Qutb-ul-Mulk gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad and thus found security from the violent onslaught of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb returned to Aurangabad with Mir Jumla, whom he took into his confidence. The latter made solemn promises to support Aurangzeb's cause; and was then sent to the Darul-Khilafat, Shahjahanabad, to present himself at the royal court. The Emperor showed him great favour, conferred upon him the title of Muazzam Khan and appointed him to the high post of *Wizarat*, which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Sadullah Khan.

As Mir Jumla had been accustomed to the climate of the Deccan, and had also made promises to Aurangzeb to support him, he induced Shah Jahan to sanction the conquest of the surviving principalities in that part of the country and to depute him for taking part in the expeditions against them. Muhammad Amin Khan, his son, was appointed to act for him as *Wazir* during his absence, and he was allowed to take with him a few valiant *Amirs*, such as Mahabat Khan (1), Rao Satar Sal (2), Najabat Khan (3), etc. He marched to meet Aurangzeb, who, according to his advice, made preparations for the conquest of the territory of Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur. The forts of Bidar and Kalyani were soon reduced and Gulbarga was besieged. Then the news of Shah Jahan's illness disturbed the campaign.

At the instance of Dara Shukoh two royal *farmans* (orders) were issued to Mahabat Khan and Rao Satar Sal respectively, requiring them, with all the Mughals and Rajputs under their

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- (1) Mahabat Khan, whose real name was Mirza Luhrasp, was the second son of the celebrated Mahabat Khan of the reign of Jahangir. He had this title conferred upon him in the 25th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, when his rank was raised to 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars*. He died in 1085 A.H. (1674-75 A.D.) during the reign of Aurangzeb (See *Maasru-ul-Umara* Vol. 111, pp. 590-94).
 - (2) Rao Satar Sal Hada was the son of Gopi Nath and the grandson of Rao Ratan. He held the rank of 3,500 *zat* and 3,500 *sawars*. He was killed in the battle of Sammugarh fighting for Dara Shukoh (See *Maasru-ul-Umara*, Vol. 11, pp. 260-63).
 - (3) Najabat Khan, whose real name was Mirza Shuja, was the son of Mirza Shahrukh of Badakhshan. He held the rank of 5,000 under Shahjahan. He stayed with Aurangzeb in the Deccan against the order of Dara Shukoh requiring him to return to the court, and had his rank raised to 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars*. He died in the 7th year of the reign of Aurangzeb (See *Maasru-ul-Umara*, Vol. 111, p. 821-27).

command, to return immediately to the Court; they were not to allow any of their followers to stay in the Deccan, nor were they to take leave of Aurangzeb. The two officers, at a time when the enemy force was overwhelming, started for the Imperial Court. Far from taking Aurangzeb's permission, they did not even see him before their departure. This caused a great confusion in Aurangzeb's camp; he raised the siege of Gulbarga and retreated to Aurangabad, where dreadful stories, originating from the dismal news of the Emperor's illness, were brought to his knowledge. Rumours of sedition and rebellion were also in circulation, such as the closing of the roads to messengers by Dara Shukoh, the imprisonment of the *wakils* (agents) of his brother princes and the governors of the provinces, the restriction upon the *wakils* of the chiefs of the frontier districts against writing any news of the Court, the revolt of Shah Shuja and the despatch of Sulaiman Shukoh with a large army against him, the engagement of these two forces, the defeat of Shah Shuja, and the accession of Murad Bakhsh on the throne in Gujrat. Aurangzeb refrained from committing any thing improper, but set himself to make inquiries about the health of the Emperor and the rumours which were afloat.

About this time Aurangzeb was informed that Muazzam Khan had also started for the Imperial Court like Mahabat Khan and Rao Satar Sal. Since the prince had a high object in view and a heavy task to perform, he considered that the departure of such a resourceful noble to the Court and his joining Dara Shukoh would be injurious to his interest, and he had recourse to a stratagem. He sent a message to Muazzam Khan, saying that since he regarded the Amir as his well-wisher, he was anxious that he should not depart without taking leave of him. But Muazzam Khan tried to avoid the meeting. "As I have received a royal order calling me to the Court," he replied, "as an officer and a servant I have no alternative but to comply with it". Aurangzeb sent a second message to him, this time through his son, Sultan Muazzam, stating that, as the *Amir* was going to the court, he had certain important matters to be explained to him privately, and for this purpose an interview was necessary. Sultan Muazzam succeeded in his mission, and as soon as Muazzam Khan entered the private apartment of Aurangzeb, he was arrested. All his treasure and property were also confiscated, and his attendants were taken by the prince in his own service. Aurangzeb was thus supplied with the means for carrying out his scheme. He still avoided an open rebellion, and wrote to the Emperor that as he had observed the signs of revolt in the behaviour of Muazzam Khan, he had made him prisoner. Aurangzeb further added that had he not done so, Muazzam Khan would have joined the rulers of the Deccan.

(1) Sulaiman Shukoh was the eldest son of Dara Shukoh.

Soon afterward it was brought to Aurangzeb's ears, that by the orders of the Emperor, Qasim Khan (1) had been appointed *Subedar* (Governor) of Gujrat, Murad was ordered to go to the Deccan and take possession of Berar, which had hitherto been given to Aurangzeb as a *Jagir* for his salary, and lastly Raja Jaswant Singh (2) had been assigned the Governorship (*iyalat*) of Malwa with the instruction that if Murad Bakhsh hesitated to leave Gujrat, the Raja was to help Qasim Khan in driving him away to the Deccan and then return to Ujjain. These changes were made at the instigation of Dara Shukoh. He wanted to remove Khan-i-Jahan Shayasta Khan (3), whom he considered an opponent, from Ujjain and to post Raja Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan there so that, if Aurangzeb desired to march northwards, they should block his way and fight him, if necessary. Dara's third object in these moves was obvious; if Murad, showing insolence and disobeying the imperial order, started for Northern India he was to be prevented from doing so, and even driven from Gujrat to the Deccan.

III

Annoyed at the hostile attitude of the Central Government, Aurangzeb considered it inadvisable to remain silent any more. 'Lifting the veil of secrecy off his affairs, he told his loyal officers what was in his heart'. Employees of the various departments were instructed to make all necessary preparations for the journey and to collect equipment of war. He imprisoned Shah Nawaz

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- (1) Qasim Khan was the son of Hashim Khan and the grandson of Qasim Khan Mir-i-Bahr (Admiral). He was gradually promoted to the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars*; in the year 1068 A. H. (1657-58 A. D.), when he was appointed Governor of the province of Gujrat, his rank was raised at the recommendation of Dara Shukoh to 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 95-99.)
 - (2) Maharaja Jaswant Singh was the chief of the Rathor clan of Rajputs and the Raja of Jodhpur. At the instance of his father, Raja Gaj Singh, he was allowed by the Emperor Shah Jhan to succeed his father in supersession of elder brother, Amar Singh. By gradual promotion he rose to the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars*, when he was appointed Governor of Malwa at the beginning of 31st year of the reign of Shah-Jahan (See *Maasiru-l-Umara* Vol. III, pp. 599-604).
 - (3) Shayasta Khan, Amiru-l-Umara, was the son of Yaminu-d-Daula Asaf Khan and the grandson of Itimadu-d-Daula, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the father of the celebrated Nur Jahan. In the 28th year of the reign of Shah Jahan (1654 A.D.), he was appointed governor of the province of Malwa and deputed under the royal orders to support Aurangzeb in his expedition against Golconda; at the recommendation of Aurangzeb his rank was raised to 6,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sawars*. After the subjugation of Golconda, he returned to his province, but in the 30th regnal year of Shah Jahan (1656 A.D.), he was ordered again to proceed with all possible speed to Daulatabad in the Deccan to assist Aurangzeb in the conquest of the kingdom of Bijapur (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 690-706).

Khan (1), the son of Rustam Safvi, who had shown himself opposed to his views, and wrote to Murad Bakhsh advising him to avoid encounter with the royal force under Raja Jaswant Singh, which was stronger than that of his own, and to wait till Aurangzeb had arrived. Accordingly Murad gave up the idea of fighting the Raja, marched towards Mandu for two or three days and encamped there waiting for Aurangzeb's arrival. The Raja took this to mean the flight of Murad and his inability to meet the Imperial forces on account of his weakness. He wrote to this effect to the Imperial Court, where the anxiety caused by the rebellion of Murad subsided, and fears due to the movements of Aurangzeb were allayed. On this occasion some of the high officers, who were friendly to Aurangzeb, suggested to Dara Shikoh that since the flight of Murad had restored the Emperor's peace of mind, it would be advisable to allow Isa Beg, the *wakil* of Aurangzeb, to proceed to the Deccan and inform his master of the state of the Emperor's health, so that he might be relieved of misapprehensions on that account and refrain from doing anything improper. Acting on this advice, Dara Shukoh in his simplicity recommended the matter to Shah Jahan. The Emperor permitted Isa Beg to depart, and entrusted him with a letter written with his own hand. There seemed, however, no room for apprehension from Aurangzeb who had been constantly sending letters of submission with *dalis* (baskets) of grapes to the Emperor, and now that the confusion raised by the rebellion of Murad had subsided, Shah Jahan moved from Akbarabad to the Daru-l-Khilafat, Shahjahanabad.

Contrary to the instructions given to him by the Emperor to dissuade Aurangzeb from rebellion, Isa Beg made him all the more firm in that resolve by giving an exaggerated account of the affairs of the Central Government, *viz.*, the weakness of the Emperor who was unable to move or ride, the expedition of the Imperial troops under Sulaiman Shukoh to the eastern uelion, the absence of many officers and warriors from the Court and the growing influence of Dara Shukoh. Aurangzeb won over some of the officers of the Imperial forces stationed with him and conferred the titles of *Khan-i-Khanan* and *Khan-i-Alam* on Najabat Khan and his son respectively. And as it was inadvisable to leave Murad Bakhsh, who in his stupidity and ignorance assuming kingship aspired to further conquest, to his own design, Aurangzeb decided to unite him to his victorious army. Consequently, he wrote an affectionate letter to Murad, and the following arrangements were made with firm oaths, "One-third of

(1) Shah Nawaz Khan, whose real name was Badiu-z-Zaman, was the son of Mirza Rustam. He had the title of Shah Nawaz Khan conferred upon him during the reign of Jahangir; under Shah Jahan he rose to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars*. He was deputed with other officers of the state to assist Aurangzeb in the conquest of the kingdom of Bijapur. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara* V. II. pp. 670-676).

the spoils of war were to go to Sultan Murad and two-thirds to Aurangzeb; after the conquest of the whole territory of Shah Jahan and the Empire of Hindustan the provinces of the Punjab, Multan, Thatta, Kashmir and Kabul were to go to Murad, and Murad was to raise the standard of kingship in these provinces, beat his drum as a ruler and have the coins and the *Khutba* in his own name". Thanks to these 'enchantments and fables' (stratagems) Murad consented to ally himself with Aurangzeb and moved from his centre. Thus making his position secure in all respects, Aurangzeb marched from Burhanpur with an army thirty thousand strong on the 1st of Rajab 1068 A.H. (4th April, 1658 A.D.).

When Aurangzeb was eight *farsakh* (1) from Ujjain, Murad Bakhsh approached from the direction of Gujrat. Prince Sultan Muhammad was deputed to receive him and he met his uncle on the bank of the pond of Dipalpur on the 19th of Rajab 1068 A.H. (22nd April, 1658 A.D.). Next day an interview between the two brothers took place at Dipalpur where Aurangzeb had encamped, and the united forces proceeded towards Ujjain. Jaswant Singh who had been encamped at Ujjain was much perplexed at this turn of affairs. He was no match for Aurangzeb, who was renowned for his valour and generalship, and possessed a long experience of warfare; moreover he considered it beyond his position to fight a prince of the royal blood. Nor was it possible for him to turn aside and allow Aurangzeb to pass, for the Emperor had ordered him to fight. Reluctantly he prepared for battle. Aurangzeb also anxious to avoid a conflict and the shedding of innocent blood, sent a message to Jaswant Singh: "As the object of my march is to pay my respects to His Majesty and to inquire about his health, you should desist from foolish and impudent opposition, but come to see me; you should also refrain from an enterprise that is quite beyond your capacity, and save the people from the onslaught of the victorious army". "As I have been deputed to this duty from the royal throne, there is no alternative for me but to devote my life to its performance without stepping beyond my proper sphere", the Raja replied, "if your Highness will go back and not proceed any further without His Majesty's permission it will be possible (to avoid a battle), otherwise I should be excused this insolence". It was out of question for Aurangzeb to pay any regard to this request and he marched onward.

Jaswant Singh in his inexperience had taken his post in a low and uneven ground with many ups and downs, and by cutting the bank of the Narbada tank he had made a piece of two hundred yards of land muddy. Next day, Friday, the 22nd of Rajab, 1068 A.H. (25th of April 1658 A.D.), he drew up his troops on this narrow and uneven ground and marched to battle. Qasim Khan

(1) *Farsakh* is 12,000 yards in length (See *Ghiyasul-Lughat*).

with ten thousand horsemen led the van, Raja Rai Singh (1) with five thousand horsemen commanded the right wing and Baluji with five thousand horsemen was in charge of the left wing. Jaswant Singh himself took his position in the centre with ten thousand valiant and life-sacrificing Rajputs. On Aurangzeb's side, the left wing was commanded by Prince Sultan Muhammad, who had five thousand horsemen under him, while Najabat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, 'like an iron hill' stationed himself in front of the army. The right wing was in charge of Shaikh Mir (2), the van was commanded by Zulfiqar Khan (3) with seven thousand valiant soldiers. The right and left flanks were in charge of Bahadur Khan and Islam Khan (4) respectively. Murshad Quli Khan (5) placed his artillery before the ranks of Zulfiqar Khan and gave orders to fire. Aurangzeb himself occupied the centre with seven thousand soldiers consisting of his special body guard (*Jan bazan i chauki-i-khas*) and other warriors 'strong like the wall of Alexander and the Elburz mountain'. Murad stationed himself with his army separately on the left.

The battle raged violently, and soon the troops of both sides came to grips fighting ferociously with their swords and spears. Murshad Quli Khan, wounded by an arrow, breathed his last, and the ranks of Aurangzeb's army began to shake; but Murad Bakhsh 'like a mountain of fire' moved to the assistance of the left wing, and Najabat Khan on his side 'sewed the Rajputs

Raja Rai Singh Sisodia was the son of Rana Amar Singh of Bhimpur, who was a devoted servant of Shah Jahan when he was a prince, and gave his life for him. On the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne Rai Singh was granted the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* and the title of Raja. He distinguished himself by various military services and rose to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 4,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 297-301).

- (2) Shaikh Mir was a Sayid by birth and one of the best generals of Aurangzeb (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 668-670; and the *Biographical Dictionary* p. 371).
- (3) Zulfiqar Khan, whose real name was Muhammad Bog, was the chief of the artillery of Aurangzeb, and had the title of Zulfiqar Khan conferred upon him when the prince marched from Burhanpur to Agra to contest the throne (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 89-93).
- (4) The real name of Islam Khan was Mir Zia-u-Din Hussain Badakhshi. He was in the service of Aurangzeb, who conferred upon him the title of Himmat Khan when he set out from Burhanpur, and the title of Islam Khan after his victory over Jaswant Singh near Ujjain (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 217-220; and *Biographical Dictionary* p. 182).
- (5) Murshad Quli Khan had originally been in the service of Ali Mardan Khan when the latter was governor of Qandhar on behalf of the King of Persia. On Ali Mardan Khan's making over that place to Shah Jahan, he came with him to India and was taken in the Imperial service. Under Shah Jahan he was gradually promoted to the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars*, and was posted in the Deccan as the *Dewan* of the Lower Ghats. When the war of succession broke out he offered his services to Aurangzeb, who raised his rank to 3,000 (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 493-495).

together with his spear'. Once more the battle blazed forth in full fury. The imperialists, posted through the inexperience of their commander on uneven ground, had the disadvantage of not being able to use all their men or to manoeuvre freely on account of insufficient space and the swamp; nevertheless Jaswant Singh and the Rajputs carried on the conflict till midday and undauntedly sacrificed their lives. Jaswant Singh, inspite of being wounded, continued to induce his followers to carry on the struggle, but his troops were pressed hard. As many as forty prominent Rajput chiefs, including Raja Mukand Singh and a large number of Rajput soldiers were killed. Qasim Khan, who was also wounded, lost courage and along with Jaswant Singh took to flight. The imperial army, after being routed, was pursued three or four *Korohs* (1), and Aurangzeb made his victorious entry into the city of Ujjain. He stayed there for three days and then resumed his march to the capital (Dar-ul-Khilafat).

The dismal news of Jaswant Singh's discomfiture was carried by the state-messengers, Saqi Beg and Rustam Beg, post haste to Shah Jahan at Bilochpur. The Emperor at Dara Shukoh's request returned from Bilochpur to Akbarabad. Dara Shukoh, distressed by the turn of affairs, was anxious to adopt all possible measures for the suppression of the revolt. He succeeded in collecting a force of one hundred thousand horsemen, consisting of his own contingents and the contingents of the *amirs* and the crown troops; and starting from Akbarabad on the 25th of *Shaban*, 1068 A.H. (28th June, 1658 A.D.), he pitched his camp on the bank of the Chambal. His plan was to seize all the ferries and by posting his soldiers and artillery at strategic points to stop Aurangzeb from crossing the river; but with the meager experience of warfare, he was incapable of conceiving or carrying out any military scheme successfully. Proceeding further, Aurangzeb discovered Dara's plan and consulted his officers about a road that should lead him to his destination. 'The *Zamindar* of Bhadawar, led by his auspicious star and good fortune, approached Aurangzeb's officers and promised to undertake this service.' Aurangzeb, as a measure of policy, left his camp equipage at Sarai Kuwari and, guided by the *Zamindar*, marched twenty-five *Korohs* and crossed the Chambal on foot at the Ford of Bhadawar. At this stage Aurangzeb received a letter from the princess Jahanara, which was brought to him by her *Bakhshi*, Muhammad Faruq.

The Princess wrote: "Praise be to God that His Majesty the Sahib Qiran Sani is free from all bodily infirmities, which afflict the human frame, and is devoting all his attention to the

(1) *Koroh* and *Kos* are both derived from the Sanskrit word *Krosa*, which literally means a shout, i.e. the distance of shout. On an average a *Koroh* is equal to two miles.

improvement of the condition of his subjects and the maintenance of peace in the Empire. Being just and equitable by nature, he does not like any one, particularly any of his sons, to commit any acts causing disturbance among the people and disorder in the country. Now that he is striving with all his power to dispel the confusion caused by his illness, the prevailing conflicts and dissensions, which are ruinous and destructive to the country and the people, will be a source of great pain and grief to him, in particular the unbecoming and improper action of this wise and prudent brother (Aurangzeb), who is endowed with an elegant disposition, a noble mind, amiable manners and mildness of temper. It is with the solicitude for his felicity that these few words are being written, so that he may be advised to keep himself away from objectionable and evil deeds. If your advance is with the object of creating disturbance and making war, you should yourself judge how impolite it is on your part to encounter and draw the sword against your own father, in whose obedience lies the pleasure of God and His Prophet, and to shed blood of innocent people. The result of such an action will be nothing but disgrace and ultimate ruin. Even if your expedition is due to antagonism to Prince Dara Shukoh, it cannot be approved by the principle of wisdom, for according to the Islamic law and convention the elder brother has the status of a father. His Majesty holds the same view. In short, the strife and hostile contest began by this sagacious and high minded brother (Aurangzeb), who is esteemed for his laudable demeanour, praiseworthy behaviour and generous disposition, and who has always endeavoured to fulfil the wishes of the holy and blessed Emperor, is not to be appreciated in any way or by any person; for the life of a few days in this transitory and evil world and its deceitful and deceptive enjoyments are no compensation for eternal infamy and misfortune. 'Don't, don't, for the virtuous do not behave like this'.

The best course for you would be to abstain from these injurious and harmful operations and try your best to please the just and religious Emperor; so that considering his satisfaction as your eternal bliss, you may refrain from shedding the blood of the followers of Islam during the auspicious month of *Ramazan*. You should submit yourself to the orders of your benefactor and your ruler, as the commandment of God in that respect refers to obedience to the Emperor. If you have any other object it would be advisable for you to remain encamped where you are and submit your wishes in writing, so that the matter may be represented to His Majesty, and efforts be made for the fulfilment of your wishes'.

In reply to Jahanara's letter, Aurangzeb wrote a petition (*arz dasht*) to Shah Jahan and, after crossing the Chambal, permitted Muhammad Faruq to depart with it. It was to the following effect: "During these days the administration of the

kingdom has passed out of Your Majesty's hands, and the power of the elder Prince (Dara Shukoh) over the affairs of the State is beyond all description. Relying on his power he is determined on annihilating his brothers, and his efforts in this respect are increasing day by day. Thus he has sent Sulaiman Shukoh with a force against Shah Shuja, the sagacious son of Your Majesty, and destroyed his dignity and reputation of thirty two years; and Your Majesty, suffering a great deal of affront and indignity from the grandson of Parwez (1), has been put to shame before the people of the world. Similarly guided by his inordinate desire and inclination, he always tries to harm his brothers, and to ruin and destroy my affairs. Besides, his actions are always also contrary to (the principles) of the Empire, faith and religion, and injurious to the interest of country and people. As regards this well-wisher (Aurangzeb), he stopped all my emoluments and means of income, and has caused me various injuries. At the time when I had invaded the Kingdom of Bijapur according to the orders of your Majesty, and was laying siege to certain forts, and *amirs* and soldiers were sacrificing their lives in the operation in opposition to a host of opponents assembled from all quarters, the dismal news of your Majesty's illness distracted the Imperial army and rendered the enemy bold. Nevertheless the victorious army, after taking the strongholds of Bidar and Kalyani, besieged Gulbarga, and brought such a heavy pressure to bear upon the besieged that Gulbarga was about to surrender. The king of Bijapur began to think of saving his kingdom by making a suitable offer, as he was afraid that his country would be conquered and annexed to the Empire. It was in these circumstances that the elder Prince (Dara) deputed his servants to summon the Imperial officers and to console and conciliate the King of Bijapur; they went secretly to the ruler of Bijapur and encouraged him in his hostility and opposition to this disciple (*Murid*) (i.e. Aurangzeb). He (Dara) issued such strict orders to the royal commanders for their immediate return from Gulbarga that they had no time or opportunity to take leave of me, and they started in great haste for the Court without even seeing me. This placed me in an awkward position and compelled me to abandon the expedition which was nearing its successful completion. It was only by my good fortune that I could retire with safety. Heaven forbid, had any untoward incident happened, it would have brought disgrace to the State for years to come and been recorded in the annals of the period. It is evident that had any calamity occurred owing to the want of foresight and providence in the elder Prince, who indulging in his selfish motives does not care

- (1) Sulaiman Shukoh's mother was the princess Nadira Begam, who was the daughter of Parwez, the second son of Jahangir and the brother of Shah Jahan. The remark seems to remind Shahjahan of the defeat and discomfiture sustained by him from Parwez, when he (Shah Jahan) revolted against his father Jahangir

if the whole world is involved in destruction, the remedy would have been beyond the power of the slaves of the Emperor. However, having great experience in the art of war and knowing how to administer military affairs, and being at the same time aware of the tactics of the warriors of the locality, I did not take into consideration the vast multitude of the forces of the enemy, and brought off my troops from that dangerous position to a safe refuge. More surprising still, not being contented with having caused me this distress, he transferred the *Mahal* of Berar from the *Jagir* of this well-wisher, who has ever been loyal and obedient, and assigned it to one (Murad), who had committed many acts of impudence and had been guilty of rebellion. Owing to his selfish motives he has represented my cause incorrectly to Your Majesty, accusing me malignantly of many crimes and evils. By his insistence and solicitations he had a large army under Jaswant Singh despatched against me, his object being to find an excuse for wresting from me the small province conferred upon me, to bring about my ruin and destruction and to leave me unprovided for in the desert of affliction and anguish. As by deceit and stratagem he has gained ascendancy over Your Majesty's mind, you give credit to his words, and considering your other sons, who are sincere in their character, as the enemies of the State, you pass orders against them according to his suggestions. Your Majesty makes absolutely no investigation and inquiries into the case of your innocent sons; nor do you take any interest in the administrative and financial affairs of the State, which have been placed entirely under his control. He is beyond doubt thirsty for our innocent blood. As the matter had come to this pass, I decided that it was my duty, according to the canons of reason, to protect my life and my honour, and that I should present myself before Your Majesty and explain the position to you personally. When I reached Ujjain, Jaswant Singh, who had been ordered by the elder Prince to oppose me, stood in my way and prohibited me from proceeding further; and although he was clearly informed that my object was to pay a visit to Your Majesty, he declined to listen to me and commenced hostilities. Consequently, I was compelled to remove him from my path. It is evident that had my intention been other than that of waiting upon Your Majesty, it would not have been difficult to arrest him and his followers after such a disastrous defeat. Now the elder Prince has himself marched to Dholpur with a large army to guard the roads and ferries of the Chambal. According to his belief he has prevented me from crossing the river, but as my aim is to wait upon Your Majesty, and not to fight anybody, I have crossed the Chambal by the ford of Bhadawar, and am proceeding to pay my respects to you. It is heard that he is so persistent in his desire of depriving me of the honour of waiting upon Your Majesty that he intends to offer battle. However, it will not be advantageous to him to fight and oppose a loyal disciple like

myself. It would be desirable that, behaving like a senior, (brother), he should desist from showing his splendour and move to the Punjab, which is assigned in his *Jagir*, for the present, so as to allow me to serve Your Majesty for some time. Subsequently effect will be given to whatever arrangement Your Majesty may approve of".

After despatching his petition through Muhammad Faruq, Aurangzeb set out with his army, and pitched his camp at a distance of three *Korohs* from Sammugarh.

IV

When Dara Shukoh, who had been staying at Dholpur to guard the ferries and roads, heard that Aurangzeb had crossed the Chambal, he retired and encamped at one Shah Jahani *Koroh* from Aurangzeb's camp. Next day, early in the morning, he arranged his troops in battle order and waited for conflict, but Aurangzeb did not move forward and allowed his troops to rest after the long journey they had undertaken. "Tomorrow" Aurangzeb told his warriors, "is the day for the display of manliness and prowess. The centre of my power is very far from here. You should, therefore, fall upon the enemy with a united heart and a united front, wrest the Empire from him with the blows of your sharp swords and win a reputation in the world by your victory". Dara, on the other hand, waited for the enemy in the field from the morning to the close of the day, suffering severely from the heat of the sun and the exhaustion of staying on horseback. Most of his soldiers, who had put on their armour, as well as their horses were exhausted as the sun was shining hot; without exchanging any blows with the enemy they lost the strength of their bodies as well as the courage of hearts.

On the following day, Sunday, the 7th of *Ramzan*, 1068 A.H. (8th June, 1658 A. D.), at sunrise Aurangzeb marched to the battle-field. He had forty thousand cavalry whom he arranged according to the principles of the art of war. The right wing was commanded by Murad, the left wing by Sultan Muhammad; and these two wings were further strengthened by Shaikh Mir and Bahadur Khan respectively, each of whom had five thousand soldiers under his command. Zulfikar Khan with two thousand horsemen formed the vanguard, and Aurangzeb himself took his stand in the centre with ten thousand soldiers. The artillery was posted in front of the centre.

Dara Shukoh marched forward with an enormous army, riding on an elephant and issued orders for the marshalling of his ranks. Sipahr Shukoh (1) was posted at the right wing with fifteen thousand soldiers including *Mansibdars* (rank holders) and

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 - (6) Zafar Khan, whose real name was Khuwaj[†] Ahsan Ullah, was the son of Khuwaja Abul Hasan Turbati. He entered the Imperial service during the reign of Jahangir and had the rank of 1,500 *zat* and 800 *sawars* and the title of Zafar Khan conferred upon him. Under Shah Jahan he gradually rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars*. Twice he held the post of Governor of Kashmir, and in the 25th year of the reign of Shah Jahan was appointed governor of Thatta. In the 29th year of Shah Jahan's reign the governorship of Thatta was conferred upon the Prince Sipahr Shikoh, and Zafar Khan retired to the Court. The Khan had the command of the left wing of Dara's army with 5,000 soldiers under him at the battle of Samnugarh. He died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.) (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 756-763).

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under the control of Rao Satar Sal accompanied by Ram Singh (1)* and Raja Rup Singh Rathor (2) and Daud Khan (3). Dara Shukoh himself occupied the centre with twelve thousand horsemen of his own contingent. The artillery, as usual, was drawn up in front of the army.

The battle began with skirmishes which continued till mid-day. Then Rao Satar Sal, Daud Khan and Raja Rup Singh Rathor made continuous attacks on Murad Bakhsh and broke his ranks. Boldly and courageously attacking Aurangzeb's centre next, Rao Satar Sal and Raja Rup Singh managed to reach Aurangzeb's own elephant and were 'consumed before it by the fiery sword like moths by a flame'. Rustam Khan (4), attacking Aurangzeb's left wing, shook Sultan Muhammad's columns in the first attack; but he was wounded by a bullet in the struggle, and realizing that the wound was fatal, he came down from his elephant, mounted a horse, and sent back Sultan Sipahr Shukoh to his father. Then, resolved to die, he attacked Islam Khan's army with twelve courageous and devoted followers and sacrificed his life. Islam Khan cut off his head and placed it at the feet of Aurangzeb's steed (really elephant). Khalil Ullah Khan, who guided by reason and good fortune had made a secret agreement with Aurangzeb, remained immobile at his place with fifteen thousand horsemen in full armour, and out of loyalty to Aurangzeb refrained from joining the battle. As Dara Shukoh, against the tradition of experienced warriors, had disarranged his ranks and stationed himself in front of the artillery, the officers of his vanguard were slain when the right and left wings of the two

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- (1) Rām Singh Kachhwaha was the eldest son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He entered the service of Shah Jahan, and under him rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 1,500 *sawars*. He fought in the battle of Samugarh for Dara Shukoh, but on the defeat of that prince offered his allegiance to Aurangzeb (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 301-303).
 - (2) Raja Rup Singh belonged to the Rathor class of Rajputs, and was the brother of Raja Suraj Singh. He succeeded his uncle Hari Singh, the Raja of Kishtwar, who died without leaving a son behind him. He took part in the expeditions against Qandhar and attained the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 268-270).
 - (3) Daud Khan, who had been a *Shaikhzada* of Hisar Firoza, was in the service of Dara Shukoh. In the 30th year of the reign of Shah Jahan he was appointed *Faujdar* of Muttra, which had been in the Jagir of Dara Shukoh, and at the recommendation of the Prince was granted the title of Khan. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 32-39).
 - (4) Rustam Khan belonged to the *Charkas* tribe, who lived in the valley of Elburz in Persia. Originally, he was employed by Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmad Nagar, who conferred upon him the title of Muqarrab Khan. Dissatisfied with Nizam-ul-Mulk, he entered the service of Shah Jahan in the 3rd year of his reign when he was in the Deccan. Rustam Khan was one of the best generals of Shah Jahan. He rendered valuable services in the campaigns of Balkh and Badakhshan and Qandhar; he was granted the title of Firozjang and rose to the rank of 6,000 *zat* and 6,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 270-276).

armies came into clash, and the battle-field presented a singular spectacle. Zulfiqar Khan, the commander of Aurangzeb's vanguard, realized his opportunity and, moving forward bravely on his horse, he attacked Dara's centre with terrific strength and courage. 'At the same time fate (literally sky) rising in enmity to the brave warriors of Dara's army, caused the dust of misfortune to blow in their faces'. The sun and the wind were so hot that many of Dara's officers and men expired owing to the heat, without being wounded by arrows or spears. A short while before Dara appeared to have had the upper hand, but by Divine intervention the courage and determination of his followers began to slacken and his army suddenly turned away from the battle-field and took to flight in great disorder and distress. In the twinkling of an eye the field was left vacant in front of Aurangzeb's troops. Towards the end of the day the wind of Divine favour began to blow on the fortunate standards of Aurangzeb, and the drums and trumpets announced his victory. Dara Shukoh alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse and turned away his face from power and wealth. Two *Gharis* (1) before sunset he reached Akbarabad in a wretched condition—'with broken reins and broken stirrups'. This event occurred on Sunday, the 17th of *Ramazan*, 1068 A.H. (8th June 1658 A. D.)

V

On the achievement of this glorious victory, Aurangzeb offered his thanks to God and encamped on the ground formerly occupied by Dara Shukoh. On the same day Fakhir Khan, who had been one of the chief companions and trusted officers of Dara Shukoh, followed by Muhammad Amin Khan (2), son of Muzzam Khan, and Itiqad Khan (3), son of

- (1) *Ghari* is an Indian unit of time representing the sixty-fourth part of a day and night i.e. the period of 22½ minutes.
- (2) Muhammad Amin Khan was the son of Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan. He was appointed, as we have seen, to officiate for his father as prime minister at the Court when the latter was deputed to assist Aurangzeb in the conquest of Bijapur, and had the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* conferred upon him. On the deposition of his father temporarily from the post of prime minister in the 31st year of the reign of Shah Jahan, Muhammad Amin was also suspended, but he was soon restored to his former position and appointed to the post of *Bakhshi gari*. Subsequently, when Muazzam Khan was placed in confinement by Aurangzeb and thus failed to comply with royal orders served on him to attend the Court, Dara Shukoh attributed this to an intrigue, and reporting the matter to Shah Jahan called Muhammad Amin Khan to his house and imprisoned him. His innocence having, however, been established, he was set free after three or four days. He was at Agra when Aurangzeb won the battle of Samugarh against Dara Shukoh (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. III, pp. 613-693).
- (3) Itiqad Khan, whose real name was Mirza Bahman Yar, was the son of Asaf Khan and the grandson of Itimadu-d-Daula. He rose to the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 500 *sawars* under Shah Jahan and had the title of Itiqad Khan conferred upon him which had been held by his father and uncle, (See *Maasiru-l-umara*, vol. I, pp. 232-234 and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 186).

Asaf Khan, known as Bahman Yar, rushing from Akbarabad presented himself before Aurangzeb to congratulate him. Next day Aurangzeb marched and encamped at the hunting ground of Imadpur where Jafar Khan (1), Fazil Khan Khan-i-Saman, Namdar Khan (2), son of Asalat Khan, Faiz Ullah Khan (3), Husain Beg Khan (4), Rai Raghunath (5), Qasim Khan, Multafat Khan (6), son of the late Asalat Khan, Nazir Khan Khuwaja (eunuch) and Islam Quli, entitled Khidmatgar Khan, who had been in the Agra Fort, together with all the Imperial officers whether big or low hastened willingly or otherwise to proffer their homage and obedience to him. He increased their grades by one-fourth (*Yak Sawas*) and in some cases by one-half (*deh panzeh*). On the third day, Aurangzeb marched further and encamped at the Bagh-i-Dahra. Here Shah Jahan sent him a letter written with his own hand through Fazil Khan, who also delivered a loving oral message from the Emperor.

Shah Jahan stated in his letter: "As God would have it, there has occurred a resentment between that Chief of the Empire (Aurangzeb) and the prosperous Prince (Dara Shukoh). and what was hidden by fate has come to pass. Since it is not humanly possible to interfere with the will of God, wisdom and

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- (1) Jafar Khan, entitled Umdatul-Mulk, was the son of Sadiq Khan Mir Bakhshi and sister's son and son-in-law of Yaminu-d-Daula Asaf Khan. He rose to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars* under Shah Jahan, and on the deposition of Muazzam Khan was appointed prime minister in the 31st year of Shah Jahan's reign. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. I, pp. 531-535, and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 188).
 - (2) Namdar Khan was the son of Jafar Khan Umdatul-Mulk. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed *Darogha* of the Royal Palace and had his rank raised to 2,500 *zat* and 500 *sawars*. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. III, pp. 830-833.)
 - (3) Faiz Ullah Khan was the son of Zahid Khan Koka. He was 10 years old when his father died, and was brought up under the care of Shah Jahan, who in the 24th year of his reign conferred upon him the title of Khan and raised his rank to 2,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars*. In the 31st year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed to the post of *Akhia Begi* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. III, pp. 28-30).
 - (4) Husain Beg Khan was the sister's son and son-in-law of Ali Mardan Khan. He migrated to India with Ali Mardan Khan and rose gradually to the rank of 1,500 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* under Shah Jahan (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, vol. I, pp. 591-593).
 - (5) Rai Raghunath was introduced to the Imperial Court by Sadullah Khan, the prime minister, after whose death he was appointed to act as *Diwan-i-Ala* of the department of *Diwan*. The title of Rai Rayan was conferred upon him, and his rank was raised to 1,000 *zat* and 400 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 282).
 - (6) Multafat Khan, whose real name was Ibrahim Husain, was the second son of Asalat Khan Mir Bakhshi. He was appointed to the post of *Bakhshigari* of *Ahadis* (Pay-master of the Crown Force) in the 26th year of Shah Jahan's reign, and subsequently raised to the post of *Darogha* of *Peshkash*, when he held the rank of 700 only. It was after the accession of Aurangzeb that the title of Multafat Khan was conferred upon him (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 611-612).

faith demand submission to His will, and it is in this frame of mind that I give expression to my feelings. The desire and longing, which I entertain for seeing that wise and sagacious son (Aurangzeb), are beyond description, particularly now that on his arrival after such a long time he is staying close by, and I have recovered from an acute illness during which there had remained no hope of life. It is believed that he would be as desirous to see me as Joseph was for seeing Jacob. As I am unable to wait any longer, it is proper for him to make all possible haste in giving me the pleasure of a meeting." The letter ends with a verse, conveying the earnest request of Shah Jahan to Aurangzeb to come to him at once to solace his afflicted heart

Fazil Khan behaved excellently in delivering Shah Jahan's message, and represented his case so cleverly and in such a sweet and pleasant language that Aurangzeb became ready with a willing heart to pay his respects to his father. Writing in reply, the Prince offered his thanks for the favour and kindness which Shah Jahan had shown to him, stated that he was submissive and obedient and expressed a keen desire to present himself before the Emperor. As a result Fazil Khan returned with an easy heart on the success of his mission; and Shah Jahan was greatly delighted with the contents of Aurangzeb's letter and the felicitous attitude he had adopted.

After Fazil Khan had left, some of the mean and faithless officers, who considered the conflict favourable to their own interest, embittered the feelings of Aurangzeb against Shah Jahan with mischievous statements, and prevailed upon him to avoid the proposed interview. Next day when Fazil Khan brought certain presents, consisting of jewels and precious objects of the seven climes from Shah Jahan, he observed on being admitted to Aurangzeb's presence that the situation had completely changed. 'In the rose of that garden the colour and perfume of friendship were lacking.' The sagacious Khan did his best to convince Aurangzeb by pleasant words, forcible and clear arguments, reasonable interpretations and suitable proverbs, but met with no success. He returned sad and depressed, and reported the matter to Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan then sent Fazil Khan again to Aurangzeb accompanied by Khalil Ullah Khan, and entrusted him with a letter written with his own hand.

Shah Jahan complained of the attitude of Aurangzeb and said: "In spite of the claims due to me for bringing him up with ease and comfort, for his training and for his education, for my continuous favours and the grant of high rank and position, and over and above them for the paternal right and the order of God, commanding obedience to the ruler, it is unbecoming on the part of the fortunate son (Aurangzeb), who is endowed with wisdom and faith and has spent all his life in the pursuit

of righteousness and the acquisition of good name, that being misled by a few selfish advisers he should abstain from presenting himself before me; that for the friendship of a handful of worthless and evil minded (officers) he should consider me his enemy, and intending to disgrace me among the rulers and the people of the world should have no fear of punishment in the next world; and that for the sake of a few days' life in this transitory world he should deem it worth his while to bear eternal shame and disgrace before God and His Prophet. Take heed! Do not venture on an act, which is to result in repentance and regret when repentance is to be of no use' The concluding portion of the letter is in verso apparently composed by Shah Jahan himself, fervently appealing to the filial duty of Aurangzeb, advising him not to allow himself to be led astray by his vanity and asking him to give up his antagonistic attitude towards his own father.

When the two Khans reached Aurangzeb's camp, Khalil Ullah Khan, who secretly favoured the cause of Aurangzeb, was granted an interview by the Prince, while Fazil Khan on account of his faithfulness to Shah Jahan was kept waiting outside. Khalil Ullah Khan, ungrateful as he was, made matters worse. He induced Aurangzeb not to listen to Shah Jahan's importunities and to give up the intention of paying his respects to the Emperor. Consequently, Aurangzeb represented in reply that he was not secure against the animosity of Shah Jahan and that he feared that in the course of interview Shah Jahan might order his servants to assassinate him. Aurangzeb, as a measure of policy, ordered Khalil Ullah Khan to be detained, and Fazil Khan, who was allowed to return, related the state of affairs to Shah Jahan. The latter lost all his hopes of a peaceful settlement with Aurangzeb, and having seen the treachery of his old officers issued orders for the shutting of the gates and the fortification of the bastions of the fort. Such officers as had been making a show of energy and fidelity towards the Emperor were entrusted with the charge of defending the gates. On hearing this, Aurangzeb appointed Zulfiqar Khan and Bahadur Khan to besiege the fort; they reached the fort with a detachment of the army at night and began their operation. In the opinion of the experienced officers the fort was too strong to be captured quickly. Some officers with their men alighted at the palace (*Manzil*) of Dara Shukoh, but most of the besiegers stationed themselves near the fort in the shelter of walls and trees. Cannon-balls and shots were exchanged. Some of the officers and musketeers (*Tufangchis*) in the fort made up their minds to sacrifice their lives and to keep

(1) Shah Jahan's epistles are generally interspersed with verses and quotations from the Qūran and ethical works. This characteristic feature of his composition is indicative of his poetic, religious and literary tendencies.

off the besiegers so far as lay in their power, but the majority of the higher *mansibdars* owing to their cowardice were unable to stand the siege; under the excuse of looking after the water-carriers (*Sagqas*), who were bringing water from the river by the postern-gate (*daricha*), they went out of the fort and escaped, proving traitors to the Emperor's salt and ignoring the favours he had bestowed upon them for years. As the fort was too strong to be mined or captured by direct assault, the soldiers of Aurangzeb courageously managed to reach the Khizri Gate (Water Gate) on the second day, and closed the entrance by which water used to be carried to the fort. As a consequence, the besieged were reduced to helplessness and despair. Shah Jahan on coming to know of this sent his sincere servant, Fazil Khan, once more to Aurangzeb with a letter written with his own hand.

Shah Jahan wrote: "May the Almighty God perpetuate the prosperity of the fortunate son (Aurangzeb)! Due to my adversity and misfortune, I have witnessed things which could not have been conceived. The fortunate son, suddenly abandoning all filial regard, pays no attention to my longings, and, ignoring my paternal rights, considers me his enemy. He is subjecting me to pain and grief, which will be a cause of disgrace in this world and of disappointment in the next, and he is forgetful of the reckoning on the Day of Judgement. How will he then account for this act of impropriety." (Here follow verses in which Shah Jahan addresses Aurangzeb in the second person, giving vent to his feelings of despondency in a rhetoric vein, to the effect that Aurangzeb should be ashamed of himself in adopting an antagonistic behaviour towards his father and sovereign. The Emperor expresses his keen interest in the welfare of the Prince and appeals to him in the name of God to show his face to him). The letter finally concludes in prose: "The Prince should not feel proud of his triumph nor put too much confidence in the favourable turn of his fortune, which is only transitory and not to be depended upon. He will be well advised in abstaining from such deeds as may be liable to weaken the position of this illustrious dynasty, the power and prestige of which has dominated the world for so many years and won the respect of rulers. He should behave in the manner expected of able sons, so that his fame, honour and reputation for ability may remain recorded in the annals of time".

In his reply Aurangzeb explained his position to Shah Jahan and showed due respect to him. "Praise be to God", he wrote, "that since my boyhood I have never failed, as far as was possible, in loyalty and obedience to Your Majesty, and have always adhered, and still adhere, to the straight path of obedience and self-sacrifice. But owing to these events, which have occurred in accordance with Divine destiny, it is but human that I should,

on account of fear and suspicion, be unable to present myself before Your Majesty with contentment of heart and peace of mind, otherwise I cherish that desire so ardently that it is not possible for me to commit it to writing, nor can I express in words my thanks for the innumerable favours you have conferred upon me. I shall be greatly obliged if, as a special favour, you will kindly issue orders to allow some of my followers to enter the fort to replace the Imperial soldiers, who are detailed to guard its gateways and control entry into it, so that I may have the honour of presenting myself before you and make excuses for my shortcomings."

Shah Jahan agreed to this proposal. He ordered that all the imperial officers should go away from the fort and open its gates to the followers of Aurangzeb. Although this order was far from wisdom, the imperial officers considered it their duty to obey it, and handed over the gates to Aurangzeb's officers. Sultan Muhammad entered the fort with Zulfiqar Khan, Shaikh Mir and Bahadur Khan on Friday, the 15th of *Ramzan*, 1068 A.H. (16th June, 1658 A.D.), took possession of all its gates and bastions and placed his own men in charge of them. Then the Prince accompanied by Islam Khan paid his respects to the Emperor, kissed the ground and performed the ceremony of *Kornish*. Shah Jahan presented him with a *jamdhar* (dagger) set with jewels.

Next day Begam Sahib (Jahan Ara) visited Aurangzeb to deliver verbally the message of Shah Jahan. When she approached Aurangzeb's residence, she was not received and welcomed with the honour and respect usually paid to her, and at the instance of Aurangzeb she was led into the private apartments. But at the personal interview in the harem Aurangzeb met her in a proper manner and offered her a seat of distinction. She began by referring to the high regard which Shah Jahan had for Aurangzeb, and described how desirous he was of seeing him. Then coming to the main object of her mission, she said that the Emperor had the following proposals in view:—the Punjab and the territories attached to it were to be entrusted to Dara Shukoh, Gujrat was to continue in the possession of Murad Bakhsh and Bengal of Shah Shuja, and the province of the Deccan was to be placed under the control of Sultan Muhammad; the whole Empire, other than the aforementioned provinces, together with the exalted position of Heir-apparent of the Empire and the dignified title of "*Baland Iqbal*" was to be conferred upon Aurangzeb. She advised the Prince to agree gratefully to this proposal of his father, in which lay the good fortune of both the world, and, without paying any attention to the mischievous counsels of his selfish officers, to wait upon the Emperor with an easy heart. She added that his father was extremely anxious to see him and he should make all possible

haste in giving Shah Jahan the pleasure of an interview. Aurangzeb showed his reluctance to accept these terms, complained of the animosity of Dara Shukoh and said that until his (Dara's) case was settled, he should be excused from an interview, as he dared not to take any action in that respect.

Jahan Ara returned with grief and sorrow and gave an account of the interview to Sahab Jahan whose sadness surpassed description. However, on the third day, after a prolonged discussion, Aurangzeb decided to meet the Emperor, and mounted his horse at the Dahra Garden with this intention. But as Destiny had planned otherwise, this object, which was dear to the heart of the people, was not attained. He had hardly started riding on his horse when the *Amiru l-Umara* Shayasta Khan and Shaikh Mir overtook him and protested against his action. "The execution of this design", they said, "is against the dictates of wisdom, prudence and right reason. It has thrown your loyal servants into the pit of consternation and doubt. For God's sake have mercy on your devoted servants and abstain from this undertaking, which is contrary to prudence. For a moment please think over the situation. God has placed the government of the Empire in the hands of your officers. Your servants have brought the fort under their control; the officers of Shah Jahan have been completely deprived of their authority, which has now come into the hands of your men. There is no trace of enemy within the fort. What has induced you, without cause or reason, to go to a place where there is apprehension of danger, revolt and evil?" These arguments, which were apparently sound, made Aurangzeb irresolute, and he stopped his horse. Just at that time Nahar Dil Chela (1) arrived with a letter which the Emperor had written to Dara Shukoh with his own hand and entrusted it to Nahar Dil with the instruction that he should hasten to Shahjahanabad (Delhi); deliver the letter secretly to Dara Shukoh and bring his reply. The contents of the letter were to the effect that Dara Shukoh, collecting his army, should stay at Shahjahanabad and not proceed any further, as the Emperor was settling the matter at Agra. The letter confirmed the views of the officers of Aurangzeb. He was still further pained to discover the great regard Shah Jahan had for Dara Shukoh, and gave up the idea of meeting him. So passing in front of the gate of the fort, he alighted at the palace (*haveli*) of Dara Shukoh.

At the order of Aurangzeb, Sultan Muhammad took posses-

(1) *Chela* is a Hindi term, meaning *murid* or disciple who places implicit belief in his *murshid* or *pir* (spiritual guide). Akbar, from religious motives, disliked the name *bandah* or slave, and he therefore called this class of men '*Chelas*' (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 253-254).

sion of all the royal effects, including treasures, furniture, jewellery, etc., and sealed them up. Shah Jahan-such was the Divine will-became absolutely helpless and lost all power and prestige; thereafter he was not allowed to move out of his harem and palace. This happened in the year 1068. A.H. (1658 A.D.). The Quranic verse *واعتبروا ولي الابصار* (Draw a moral, ye men of insight) is quoted as a chronogram (1).

It had come to Aurangzeb's ears that Dara Shukoh, establishing himself at Shahjahanabad, had begun to collect together his scattered army; Aurangzeb, therefore, considered it his duty to complete the half-finished, affair of Dara Shukoh. Staying at the house of Dara Shukoh, Aurangzeb busied himself for three days in making arrangements for the administration of Akbarabad during his absence. He placed Shah Jahan and the fort under the custody of Zulfiqar Khan and appointed Islam Khan governor of Akbarabad. Prince Sultan Muhammad was also to reside at Akbarabad in the palace of Dara Shukoh. On Saturday, the 29th of Ramzan, 1068 A.H. (21st June, 1658 A.D.) he started with a large army to Shahjahanabad in pursuit of Dara. On the first day when the army encamped at Guzar-i-Sami (the ford or passage of Sami), he himself halted at the royal building; at this time it was reported to him that Murad Bukhsh had not moved from Agra to accompany him and was showing signs of procrastination. A body of the royal officers such as Ibrahim Khan (2), son of Ali Mardan Khan Amiru-l-Umara, had entered Murad's service. As Murad increased the salaries and grades from ten to twenty and ten to fifteen and was very generous to those who entered his service, about twenty thousand men joined his army; every day persons, who only saw the external side of things and could not comprehend their real nature, left the army of Aurangzeb and allied themselves with Murad in the hope of obtaining higher grades and other favours from him. Day by day the number of Murad's followers increased, and Aurangzeb considering this to be against the welfare of the State and ruinous to the enterprise he had embarked upon, began to give thought to the affairs of Murad. He sent a messenger to enquire (from Murad) the cause of his opposition and deviation from the straight path of alliance. Murad (in reply) said that he was without money and that his army was in distress. Aurangzeb sent him twenty

(1) The chronogram gives the date 1068, and to arrive at this figure the last *الف* of *واعتبروا* has been eliminated.

(2) Ibrahim Khan was the eldest son of Amiru-l-Umara Ali Mardan Khan. In the 26th year of Shah Jahan's reign he was granted the title of "Khan" and on the death of his father in the 31st regnal year he obtained the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars*. In the battle of Samugarh he was posted at the right wing of the army of Dara Shukoh. On the defeat of Dara Shukoh he entered the service of Murad Bukhsh, and after the confinement of the latter he offered his allegiance to Aurangzeb (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 295-301).

lacs of rupees with the message that the amount should be spent for the present on his own requirements and those of his army. The rest of one-third of the spoils, which had been agreed upon, would also reach him; and God willing, after the settlement of the affair of Dara Shukoh, the territories of the Punjab, Kashmir and Kabul would be assigned to him. He should, therefore, start soon, so that they should jointly accomplish the enterprise that was before them.

Satisfied somewhat, Murad Bakhsh marched from Akbarabad and encamped one *Koroh* behind Aurangzeb. When the officers of Aurangzeb started from Guzar-i-Sami, Murad also moved forward encamping a *Koroh* behind Aurangzeb; when the precincts of the city of Muttra were reached, Murad did not join Aurangzeb but encamped at a considerable distance. Aurangzeb's officers saw that the attitude of Murad was contrary to the unity of action and represented the matter confidentially to Aurangzeb. At a time when they had still great enterprises before them, and the affairs of the Empire had not been settled as desired, nor was the mind of Aurangzeb at peace about the opponents of the State, Murad's undesirable behaviour was increasing the consternation of Aurangzeb's officers. Inevitably Aurangzeb decided, as a measure of policy, to imprison Murad, so that the disturbed mind of his officers might be at peace. When he had made up his mind about the matter, Aurangzeb, guided by his reason, first won over some of Murad's trusted servants by enchantments and fables (stratagems), promises and hopes (of promotion). Then as a trick and subterfuge he invited Murad to a consultation meeting to settle the affairs of the Empire. That day Murad, yielding to the representation of his well-wishers, did not accept the invitation. Aurangzeb, in order to carry out this necessary enterprise, halted at that stage and, making a pretence of consultation on State affairs, expressed his earnest desire to meet Murad. The latter in the simplicity of his heart accepted the suggestion and prepared to mount his horse, but his well-wishers, who had smelt trickery in the suggestion, stood in his way. "Your humble servants," they protested, "have the greatest suspicion of Aurangzeb. May be, he has planned a treachery; in that case the matter will be out of our hands, and no regret will be of any use." But Murad, like a doomed creature, paid no heed to their words. "This is merely an obsession that has taken possession of your minds", he replied, "it is not becoming a Muslim to harbour any suspicion or doubt about Aurangzeb after the agreement he has confirmed by religious oaths". Anyhow the whole of that day was spent in talking.

Aurangzeb considered it unwise to march any further and stayed on at Muttra. He sent a message to Murad every day: "As a great enterprise is ahead, it would be unwise to march forward in haste. Owing to the absence of my brother, the

decision of all matters, great and small, has to be suspended. Nothing can be decided. My patience in waiting for you has passed all limits. If you come to me, it will not only please my heart but also settle the business in hand." Murad, in his simplicity, put faith in Aurangzeb's words and consented to the interview in fact to death. On the third day he went out hunting to the forest, and at *chasht* time (forenoon) when he was returning, Nuru-d-Din, his personal servant, who had become one of the well-wishers of Aurangzeb, approached him in haste. "Aurangzeb", he said, "has had a sudden attack of dysentery and has been suffering from an acute pain in his stomach. He is laid up in bed and in his distress he is calling for you every moment. In these circumstances it would be proper if you hastened to his bedside without any formality". Murad, unaware of the trickery and deceit of the age, turned his reins towards the camp of Aurangzeb, and galloping reached there with only a few of his followers. Immediately on his arrival, Aurangzeb's clever officers who were waiting for him, escorted him to Aurangzeb's own pavilion; on the pretext that there was insufficient space they asked Murad's followers to wait outside and took him inside alone. Aurangzeb welcomed him with great regard, showed excessive joy at his coming and took him to the private chamber where they could be alone. First, a royal meal was served; after the meal was over a bed was prepared (for Murad) and it was arranged that after the midday rest they would talk of State affairs. At Aurangzeb's request Murad stretched his feet on the carpet to rest and Aurangzeb's servants waited upon him. The object in taking trouble of providing rest for Murad was that he might take off his arms; and Murad took off his arms, put them aside like the simpleton he was without thinking of the consequences and went to sleep. When Aurangzeb saw that 'the wine of action had fermented' (the scheme devised had been brought to a successful issue), he went into the harem on the pretext of resting; when Murad was sound asleep the attendants who were employed outside withdrew at Aurangzeb's order; and a devoted servant (*paristar*) came from inside and, picking up the sword and the other arms of Murad, took them inside. (1)

Then Shaikh Mir and some other officers, who were waiting for the opportunity, came into the apartment. Murad woke up in consternation at the sound of their footsteps, and finding no trace of his arms and armour, he realized what the situation was. He heaved a deep sigh of despair and exclaimed: "ultimately, they have treated one of righteous loyalty and pure in

(1) This expression written in figurative language seems to have been misinterpreted by some of the later writers who have related that Murad was plighted with wine, and subsequently he was thrown into a profound slumber due to the soothing effect of shampooing by a lovely slave-girl, who took away stealthily his weapons from the side of pillow (See *History of Aurangzeb* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1926, Vol. I and II, pp. 432-433).

heart like me in such a manner, and this is how they have fulfilled the obligation of the agreement and the oath on the Quran, which was a guarantee between us". Aurangzeb replied from behind the curtain: "As this dear brother has, during these days, been guilty of improper actions, calculated to cause, disturbance and to injure the people and the country; and as owing to the incitement of a few unwise and low-minded persons, who obtained influence at your court, you have developed a vanity which in the eyes of men of insight is injurious to the people of God and the affairs of the State; it is, therefore, necessary for the mental cure of this brother and for the welfare of the State and religion, that he should for a few days rest in tranquility and peace of mind away from the storm and stress of the world. God forbid that anything should be intended against his life. God be praised, the foundation of our agreement has not been disturbed in any way. The life of this brother is under the protection of God, and wisdom demands that in accordance with the Quranic verse, 'May be, you dislike a thing, and it is good for you', you should consider all this to be good and not allow any sadness or gloom to enter your mind".

Diler Khan (1) and Shaikh Mir placed Murad Bakhsh on an elephant in accordance with Aurangzeb's order and carried him in haste to Shahjahanabad. As regards the followers of Murad, who had accompanied him, some of them, such as Khuwaja Shahbaz, who held the rank of 5,000 together with two or three others were arrested immediately and sent to prison. The army of Murad Bakhsh, numbering nearly twenty thousand, remained in total darkness of the event of the day, and when they heard it, it was too late. They had no option but to offer their services

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- (1) Diler Khan was a Daudzai Afghan, whose real name was Jalal Khan. In the 21st year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed *Faujdar* of the *Sarkars* of Kannauj and Kalpi in supersession to his elder brother Bahadur Khan and had his rank raised to 1,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* with the title of "Diler Khan". In the 31st year of the reign he was sent with Sulaiman Shukoh against Shah Shuja, who had revolted against Shah Jahan. Shah Shuja retired from near Benares to Patna without any contest, and was pursued by Sulaiman Shukoh. In reward for his services Diler Khan was promoted to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars*. When Sulaiman Shukoh, returning from Patna in obedience to the call of his father, reached Kara, the news of the defeat of Dara Shukoh and his flight to Lahore caused disaffection among his followers (Mirza Raja Jai Singh included) and they left his company. The prince sought the advice of Diler Khan who suggested that he should go to Shahjahanpur and raise an army of Afghans there to take such action as might be necessary. The prince accepted the proposal, but Diler Khan left him at the advice of Raja Jai Singh, who prevailed upon him to offer his allegiance to Aurangzeb near Muttra; he was taken into Aurangzeb's service and his rank was raised to 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umaru*, vol. II, pp. 42-56).

to Aurangzeb and were employed by him. Mukhlis Khan(1) took possession of Murad Bakhsh's property and prepared an inventory of the whole of it—cash, commodities animals, etc.—and added it to Aurangzeb's property. The sons and the whole harem of Murad Bakhsh were also sent to Shahjahanabad. This event took place on the 4th of Shawwal, the year 1068 A.H. (5th July, 1658 A.D.)

After being relieved of the deceit and mischief (*Kaj palasi wa bad maashi*) of Murad Bakhsh, Aurangzeb started by continuous marches to Shahjahanabad. Dara Shukoh hearing of his arrival fled in consternation to Lahore. On the 13th of Shawwal Aurangzeb reached Khizrabad near Shahjahanabad, where he made a halt for two days. On the third day he proceeded to Shahjahanabad, and passing through the city encamped at the Bagh-i-Sarhindi (Sarhindi Garden). Here Mukhlis Khan (1) presented the sons and all the household of Murad Bakhsh to him.

It was now reported to Aurangzeb that Sulaiman Shukoh was hastening back from Lucknow with the object of joining his father. Consequently Shayasta Khan was ordered to hasten to *Miyan-i-Doab* (the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna rivers) in the company of the Prince Sultan Muhammad to prevent Sulaiman Shukoh from passing through that region. Fidai Khan (2), who had come from *Miyan-i-Doab* and joined Aurangzeb, was raised to the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars* and instructed to join Sultan Muhammad. He rushed to Boria, traversed the long distance in three days, and preceeding the Prince and Shayasta Khan, encamped on the passage of Sulaiman Shukoh. On his arrival there he received a letter from Baz Bahadur, the Raja of Kumayun, stating that the Raja of Siri Nagar, offering his assistance to Sulaiman Shukoh, had deputed one of his confidential officers to guide him from Hardwar to Lahore across the Dun. Fidai Khan forwarded the letter with his own petition to Aurangzeb, while he himself rushed on with fifty horsemen, and covering the distance of eighty *Korohs* in a day and a night, reached Hardwar at the time of *Asr* (afternoon) prayer. Before the arrival of Fidai Khan, Sulaiman Shukoh had reached the other side of the river with seven thousand horsemen and

- (1) Mukhlis Khan, whose real name was Qazi Nizama, had been in the service of Shah Jahan under whom he held various posts of responsibility and rose to the rank of 800 *zat* and 200 *sawars*. He was posted in the Deccan. When Aurangzeb marched to Agra, he entered the service of the Prince, who conferred upon him the title of "Mukhlis Khan" and raised his rank to 1,500 *zat* and 200 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 566-568).
- (2) Fidai Khan, whose real name was Muzaffar Husain, is better known by the later title of Azam Khan Koka, which was conferred upon him by Aurangzeb in the 17th year of his reign. He entered the service of Shah Jahan and under him rose to the rank of 1,500 *zat* and 600 *sawars* and was granted the title of Fidai Khan (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 247-252).

encamped at the village of Chandī; it was his intention to cross the river in the evening and to traverse the skirt of the hills in the darkness of the night. But Shayasta Khan had also marched from Akbarabad, and the rumour about his arrival at any time was circulating in that region. The arrival of Fidai Khan and the news (of the arrival of) Shayasta Khan perplexed Sulaiman Shukoh and he failed to cross the river. His followers, most of whom were Sayids of Barah, deserted him for fear of (what might happen to) their sons and families. Only two thousand loyal followers kept his company. He, therefore, sought the protection of the hills of Siri Nagar; Prithi Singh, the Raja of Siri Nagar, came to receive him at the foot of the hills and took him to his own country.

Fidai Khan reported the matter to Aurangzeb and returned to the Court according to his orders. Shayasta Khan also returned to Sultan Muhammad at Akbarabad. Ghazanfar Khan (1) was appointed *Faujdar* of *Mian-i-Doab*, and Qasim Khan was appointed governor of Sambhal, while Sayid Shujaat Khan (2), who was granted the *Zamindari* of Hardwar, proceeded to that place. The aforesaid Khans were ordered to make proper arrangements and to be on the alert so that Sulaiman Shukoh might not be able to descend from the hills or undertake any evil enterprise.

VI

Aurangzeb stayed three days at the Bagh-i-Sarhindi and on the fourth day, marching from there, he took up his residence at the Bagh-i-Aizzabad (3). On Friday, the 1st of Ziqad, 1068 A.H. (31st July, 1658 A.D.), at a moment considered propitious by the astrologers, Aurangzeb ascended the throne of 'Khilafat and kingship' and exalted the high and low with favours and largesses.

(1) Ghazanfar Khan was the son of Alawardi Khan. He had been in the service of Shah Jahan, and rose under him to the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 800 *sawars*. At the battle of Samugarh he was posted at the left wing of Dara Shukoh's army. After his victory, Aurangzeb took Ghazanfar Khan into his own service and appointed him *Faujdar* of *Mian-i-Doab* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 886-888).

(2) Sayid Shujaat Khan Bhakri was a noble of the court of Shah Jahan. He held the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 800 *sawars*. On the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, he entered his service and took part in the battle against Shah Shuja and in the second battle against Dara Shukoh (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 460-461).

(3) Bagh-i-Aizzabad, also known as Shalimar Garden, lies about seven miles from Delhi on the Delhi-Karnal Road. It was probably called after Aizzu-n-Nisa Begam, entitled Akbarabadi Mahal, who was one of the mistresses of Shah Jahan.

He devoted his attention for a few days to the administration of the kingdom, and then placed his feet in the stirrups of felicity and marched towards the Punjab. Dara Shukoh on hearing this fled to Multan. Aurangzeb deputed Diler Khan and Fidai Khan and other officers with fifteen thousand horsemen to pursue Dara Shukoh. Fidai Khan at the time of departure was granted an elephant and a robe of honour; and *ashrafis* (gold mohurs) to the value of ten lacs of rupees, loaded on fast moving camels, were placed in his charge for the salary of the troops. Aurangzeb himself marched behind the army at the rate of thirty *Korohs* a day till he reached Multan. Since Dara Shukoh had marched rapidly from Multan to the desert of Thatta, and there was a rumour of the rising of Shah Shuja and his marching as far as Patna for conquering the kingdom, Aurangzeb told off a big army for the pursuit of Dara Shukoh, and raising Fidai Khan to the rank of 4,000 and, appointing him to the governorship of Oudh with the grant of Gorakhpur in his *tayul dari* (subsistence allowance), ordered him to proceed rapidly to suppress the revolt of Shah Shuja. He himself also marched back with the same purpose and, reaching Lahore, encamped at the Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh. Here he halted for three days and then proceeded to Shah-jahanabad, where he arrived on the 4th of Rabiul Awwal, 1069 A.H. (30th November, 1658 A.D.) and took his residence in the royal palace. After a stay of fourteen days, he marched on the 17th of that month to the eastern regions to wage war against Shah Shuja. Under the orders of Aurangzeb Khan-i-Dauran (1) had laid the siege to the fort of Allahabad, which was fortified and defended by Sayid Kasu, one of the officers of Dara Shukoh. At the request of Sayid Kasu, Shah Shuja marched from Patna to Allahabad and Khan-i-Dauran, hearing of his approach, retreated to the hills. Sayid Kasu at the instance of Dara Shukoh made over the Allahabad fort to the officers of Shah Shuja and himself came out of it. Shah Shuja sent all the effects and goods left by Sulaiman Shukoh in the fort to Bengal, and took up his residence there. Aurangzeb despatched Sultan Muhammad with Zulfiqar Khan, Islam Khan and other officers and an army of ten to twelve thousand horsemen direct to Allahabad, while he himself, on

(1) Khan-i-Dauran, whose real name was Sayid Mahmud, was the son of Khan-i-Dauran Nusrat Jang. After the death of his father he was granted the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars* and the title of Nasiri Khan. In the 30th year of the reign of Shah Jahan he was deputed to assist Aurangzeb in the conquest of the Adil Shahi Kingdom, and for the services rendered by him his rank was raised to 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars*. He was at Raisin in Malwa when Aurangzeb marched to Agra, and as he favoured the cause of that Prince, he met him near Gwalior and obtained the title of "Khan-i-Dauran". At the battle of Samugarh he had the command of the right wing of Aurangzeb's army; after the victory he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 782-785).

account of his large army, marched along the bank of the Ganges till he reached Qunnauj by way of Makanpur. From there he proceeded to Kora Ghatampur, where Sultan Muhammad, Khan-i-Dauran and other followers came to join him from various sides. Shah Shuja marched from Allahabad and encamped at the village of Khajwa at a distance of three *Korohs* from Anrangzeb's camp with the intention of offering a battle.

Raja Jaswant Singh had before this made a (secret) agreement with Shah Shuja out of loyalty to Shah Jahan; with the intention of paralysing Aurangzeb's force he foolishly came out of the camp of that Prince with all the Rajputs in the last hours of the night preceeding the battle and fled towards Akbarabad. Not knowing that a lamp lighted by God will not be put out even if the whole world is overwhelmed with storm, 'this infidel, enemy of reason' after coming out of Aurangzeb's camp spread the rumour that Shah Shuja had overpowered Aurangzeb. The evil-minded Rajputs plundered the property of Aurangzeb's soldiers wherever they could find it and proceeded plundering all their way. The tent of Sultan Muhammad and most of his property were plundered. When in the morning the actions of this wretched fellow were reported to Aurangzeb, he owing to his extraordinary firmness, strength of heart and perfection of reason, paid no attention to them, and considered the absence and presence of this 'dirty, evil-minded' (Raja) to be equally unimportant.

VII

As Shah Shuja was prepared to fight, Aurangzeb marched to the battle-field and arranged his army in order. Zulfiqar Khan was posted in command of the vanguard with ten thousand horsemen. Sultan Muhammad was put in charge of the right wing and Islam Khan and Khan-i-Dauran were placed among his troop. Bahadur Khan was assigned the command of the left wing. Both wings consisted of a cavalry of ten thousand and were flanked by three thousand horsemen under Saif Khan (1) and Murtaza Khan (2) respectively. Aurangzeb

(1) Saif Khan, whose real name was Saifud-Din Mahmud, was the son of Tarbiyat Khan, the *Bakhshi* of Shah Jahan. He held the rank of 700 *zat* and 100 *sawars*, and had accompanied Raja Jaswant Singh when the latter was deputed to prevent Aurangzeb from marching to Agra. When the Raja was defeated and fled away, many of his colleagues surrendered to Aurangzeb and Saifu-d-Din was one of them. He was taken in the service of Aurangzeb; his rank was raised to 1,500 *zat* and 700 *sawars* and he obtained the title of "Saif Khan" (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 479-485).

(2) Murtaza Khan, whose real name was Sayid Mahmud, had been in the service of Aurangzeb before he ascended the throne. He accompanied the Prince when he marched to Agra, and was granted the title of "Murtaza Khan". He took a prominent part in the battles fought by Aurangzeb for the throne, and gradually rose under him to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawars*. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 597-598).

himself took his stand in the centre, Muazzam Khan had come from the Deccan and joined the Imperial troops a day before the battle; he was posted among the forces of the centre. On the side of Shah Shuja, the vanguard was led by Sayid Alam (1) with five thousand horsemen, the right wing by Shaikh Wali and the left wing by Hasan Khesghi, each of whom had a cavalry of four thousand; both wings were strengthened with two thousand horsemen under the command of Asfand Yar Beg and Sayid Quli respectively. Shah Shuja took his position in the centre with Alawardi Khan (2), Mukarram Khan (3) and Sayid Kasu and ten thousand horsemen. At the time when the trumpets' loud clangour on both the sides shook the earth, and the brave soldiers were making themselves ready to fight and the horses under them were becoming restive by the roaring noise of cannons and muskets, there suddenly arose a panic in the army of Aurangzeb and many of his officers and men turned their faces and fled towards Akbarabad. Even men who had been in the service of Aurangzeb for years and had endangered their lives and fought bravely in the Deccan and other places took to flight; also the old royal servants were guilty of this treasonable action. About ten thousand soldiers, arrayed in troops with elephants and banners ahead, took to flight. But the treacherous Rajputs, who had fled with Raja Jaswant Singh, thoroughly plundered people. The wily fortune gave a curious turn to the disturbance. The moment a wretched (*maf/luk*) Rajput, riding on a pony with

(1) Sayid Alam was a Sayid of Barah. He entered the service of Jahangir, and under him rose to the rank of 1,500 *zat* and 600 *sawars*. During the reign of Shah Jahan he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars*. He accompanied Shah Shuja to Bengal where he stayed in the service of the Prince (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 454-456)

(2) Alawardi Khan is related to have been a descendant of Sultan Sanjar Saljuqi. Thanks to his skill in hunting he was favoured by Jahangir and appointed to the post of *Qarawal Begi*. After the death of Jahangir he was taken in service by Shah Jahan at the recommendation of Asaf Khan, and was granted the rank of 2,000 *zat* and *sawars* and the title of "Alawardi Khan". He held various responsible posts under Shah Jahan including the governorship of provinces, and rose to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 4,000 *sawars*. At the time when Shah Shuja revolted and marched to Patna, Alawardi Khan was governor of Bihar; as he was unable to oppose the Prince, he retreated to Benares. Shah Shuja followed him and persuaded him to take up his cause. Alawardi Khan yielded to the temptations and entered the service of Shah Shuja (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 207-215).

(3) Mirza Mukarram Khan Safwi, whose real name was Murad Khan held the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 800 *sawars* with the title of "Itifat Khan" during the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan he rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawars*, and had the title of "Mukarram Khan" bestowed upon him. In 31st year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed *Faujdar* of Jaunpur. When Shah Shuja marched a second time to fight for the throne, and he deputed Sayid Alam of Barah and Hasan Khan Khesghi to subjugate Jaunpur, Mukarram Khan found himself unable to resist, and surrendering the fort of Jaunpur to them, he joined the army of Shah Shuja. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 383-386).

a lance in his hand, made his appearance, the fugitives, inspite of their organization, trembled and became helpless like figures on a silken cloth or frescoes on a wall. The Rajputs took the driving ropes of rows of camels from their drivers and led the camels away; no one had the courage to stand in their way. The oldest men living do not remember an incident like this. In short, this unfounded report (of Aurangzeb's defeat) became current in Akbarabad and Shahjahanabad and even as far as Lahore, and curiously enough it was confirmed by new arrivals, who related the disaster with such details as if they had been the eye-witnesses of it. They went even so far as to declare that Shah Shuja was bringing Aurangzeb with him as a captive, and that he had almost reached Akbarabad. These alarming rumours so embarrassed Shayasta Khan, the Governor of Akbarabad, that when that unfortunate infidel (Jaswant Singh) approached Akbarabad, Shayasta Khan began to think of retiring to the Deccan in order to evade the consequences of the resentment of Shah Jahan. He sent a message about the matter at midnight to Fazil Khan, and reminding him of the claims of Asaf Khan, appealed to him to intercode with Shah Jahan on his behalf. But that wise and experienced man tried to pacify him. "It is against the traditions of the great", he replied, "to allow such fear to take possession of one's mind. Be patient till the morning when some man on whose words reliance can be placed comes from that direction. A rumour may be true or false, it is possible that this rumour may be entirely devoid of truth, and facts may be contrary to it."

The fact was that Aurangzeb, sagacious, forbearing and courageous as he was, did not lose his presence of mind; inspite of this panic, owing to which except for the vanguard and a few soldiers in the right and left wings of his army no one remained in the battle-field, and out of sixty or seventy thousand horsemen only a fraction stayed around him, he continued the battle with his usual firmness and composure of mind. 'The fire of cannons and muskets rendering the battle-field hot like a furnace, began to scorch the warriors to death'. From the side of the enemy Hasan Khesghi attacked the contingent of Sultan Muhammad and, fighting bravely before the Prince's elephant, was put to the sword. Shaikh Zarif, son of Shaikh Abbu, and Shaikh Bhikan also moved forward like Rustam and, displaying their courage like the Hindi sword before Aurangzeb's own eyes, were captured on the battle-field. Sayid Alam spurred his horse and, fighting for a little while with Aurangzeb's soldiers, retired safely. Sultan Muhammad and Zulfiqar Khan, putting in a great effort, attacked the enemy and shook the foundation of his firmness and stability. Seeing the weakness of his warriors and the superiority of Aurangzeb's men, Shuja's courage began to fail. The valour and calmness of Aurangzeb resulted in his

victory and the breeze of Divine favour began to blow on his banners. 'The sieve of the inverted sky sifted the dust of adversity and affliction on Aurangzeb's adversaries, and Shah Shuja, acting contrary to his name (Shuja meaning courageous), fled like a coward from the battle-field, and considered his defeat as gain'. At this time Murad Khan who is now distinguished by the title of Makramat Khan, and some other officers, finding an opportunity deserted Shah Shuja and offered their homage to Aurangzeb. The victory of Aurangzeb was announced, and he offered his thanks to God and encamped on the battle-field. Spoils beyond computation with the whole artillery of Shah Shuja and all his equipments of splendour and magnificence fell into the hands of Aurangzeb.

It may be said without exaggeration that the patience, trust (in God), forbearance and calmness displayed by Aurangzeb was beyond the capacity of Rustam and Zal. It is clear to men of discernment that flight of Jaswant Singh in the manner described, the dispersion of (almost) the whole army at the time of battle and the flight of most of the soldiers and officers would have shaken even a mountain from its foundation. Undoubtedly it is one of the indications of the supreme authority and wisdom of the Almighty God and the Creator of the world that such strength of heart, courage, trust (in God), prowess, magnanimity, patience, connivance, quick intellect and high judgment are to be found combined in one human being; the dynasty of Timur and the family of Babur have not produced a king so gifted with the art of warfare, governance, administration, insight, prudence and equity. The Creator of the universe has not bestowed these desirable qualities and noble virtues so abundantly on any other member of this glorious dynasty. Anyone who has studied the history of the past kings of this family or the other rulers of the world will confirm these facts, and he will realize that the statement of mine is free from hypocrisy, exaggeration and flattery.

In short, Aurangzeb deputed Sultan Muhammad with a party of high officials to pursue Shah Shuja, drive him out of Bengal and seize that province from his officers, while he himself marched back. Letters containing an account of the victory and destruction of the adversaries were sent to Shayasta Khan and other *mansibdars* of Akbarabad, and they were relieved of the cares and anxieties created by the false rumours circulated to them.

VIII

Dara Shukoh passing through the precincts of Multan, reached Thatta and hastened from there to Gujrat. The Imperial army, which had been sent to pursue him, returned. Khalil Ullah Khan, who had been governor of the Punjab, returned to Daru-s-Saltanat Lahore, while Shaikh Mir, Diler

Khan and others proceeded to the royal Court. Dara Shukoh suffering great hardship and distress, passed through the barren and waterless desert (*chulistan-i-bidana wa ab*) between Thatta and Junagarh and appeared on the frontier of Gujrat. Shah Nawaz Khan, son of Mirza Rustam Safwi, the governor of Gujrat, sent sincere petitions to him and expressed his obedience. This emboldened Dara Shukoh to encamp near Ahmadabad. Shah Nawaz Khan first sent his sons and then hastened personally to welcome the Prince. At a chosen moment Dara Shukoh entered the city and took up his residence in the royal palace. Later on, he sat (in the court) at a place lower than the royal seat out of regard for his father. But Shah Nawaz Khan, persisting beyond his limits, seated Dara Shukoh in the royal *Jharoka* (i.e., *Jharoka-i-Darshan*). Dara Shukoh's intention had been to proceed to the Deccan by way of Sultaupur, and set up his authority there; but hearing of the advance of Shah Shuja and Aurangzeb's march against him and many false rumours, he changed his plan and resolved to make a dash on Agra to release Shah Jahan. With the good services of Shah Nawaz Khan, he collected twenty thousand soldiers under his banner.

About this time Jaswant Singh, who had deserted Aurangzeb and returned to his own territory, sent one of his trusted servants, Nahar Khan Rajput to Dara Shukoh with the message: "It was entirely out of loyalty to Your Highness that I left Aurangzeb and have come here. Devotion and submission to Shah Jahan (Ala Hazrat) is engrained on my heart, and I (am prepared to) sacrifice my head and my life for your sake. In this way I hope to repay the kindness and favours Your Highness has shown to me. Under the present circumstances prudence demands that you should march in this direction as soon as possible, so that I may, in your service, follow the traditions of loyalty and self-sacrifice. I am waiting for the arrival of your army with a contingent of well organized and courageous Rajputs." Dara Shukoh, who was anxious for such an opportunity, thought that fate was in his favour and set out in great haste, taking Shah Nawaz Khan with him. Aurangzeb heard of these events; so after his victory over Shah Shuja at Khajwa, he marched to Akharabad. Crossing the river at Sammugarh, he proceeded, hunting in the way, to Ajmer by way of Bari. Shaikh Mir, Diler Khan and Saf Shikan Khan (1), who had gone in pursuit of Dara Shukoh, returned from Thatta

(1) Saf Shikan Khan, whose real name was Muhammad Tahir, originally held the post of *Darogha-i-Top Khana* (Superintendent of the Artillery) in the Deccan during the reign of Shah Jahan. He accompanied Aurangzeb when the latter marched from the Deccan to Agra and was granted the title of "Saf Shikan Khan". He took an active part in the war of succession and rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 1,500 *swars*. (See *Masir-i-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 738-740).

and Anandgarh and paid their respects to him at Bari. Bahadur Khan also came from Allahabad and joined him. At the instance of Aurangzeb, Jai Singh (1) began communications with Jaswant Singh and warned him of the danger of following Dara Shukoh. "It is obvious", Jai Singh's message ran, "that the only result of the crime you have committed will be the ruin of your kingdom and the desolation of your territory. Good fortune has turned away its face from Dara Shukoh, and adversity and evil fate are in store for him. Your joining that unfortunate (Prince) after your great crime is courting destruction. If you have any sense and reason, and wish to maintain your kingdom and status, there can be no better means for obtaining forgiveness for your past sins than that you should refrain from the ruinous design of joining Dara Shukoh and, repenting of your past, turn to the forgiving court of His Imperial Majesty." Jaswant Singh thought over the matter and accepted Jai Singh's advice. He sent a petition through Raja Jai Singh to Aurangzeb asking for pardon, and Aurangzeb, as a measure of policy, 'drew the pen of forgiveness across the record of his sins'.

Dara Shukoh marched rapidly towards Jodhpur counting upon Jaswant Singh's promises of help. He expected the Raja to come forward to receive him, but there was no sign of reception. Surprised at this, he sent a messenger to summon the Raja, and continually sent him *Nishans* (2) (letters) expressing his kindness and favour. But Jaswant Singh, guided by his good fortune, paid no attention to Dara's messages and withdrew from associating himself with his affair. Ultimately Dara sent his son, Sipahr Shukoh, to the Raja and wrote emphatically: "I have come here with great speed at the request of this sincere and well-wisher (Jaswant Singh). It would be against the traditions of manliness and noble birth not to fulfil your promises and to avoid an alliance with me." But Jaswant Singh would not accede to the request and drew himself away. Drawing aside the curtain (of diplomacy), he said plainly. "I am a servant of the Imperial Court. To expect an alliance and assistance from me is against sense and reason."

(1) Jai Singh Kachhwaha, commonly called Mirza Raja, entered the service of Jahangir and was granted the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 500 *Sawars* at the tender age of 12 after the death of his father. He served under Shah Jahan and rose to the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawars*. He took an active part in the war of succession. He fought for Dara Shukoh against Shah Shuja, but when Dara Shukoh was defeated at Samugarh and Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he offered his allegiance to him. (See *Masiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 568-577; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 192-193.)

(2) *Nishan* was the term used during the Mughal administration for a letter or a mandate issued under the seal impression of a prince or princess of royal blood. A letter or a mandate issued under the seal impression of the reigning king was called a *Farman* or *Manshur*.

You should be grateful that I am not opposing you and am keeping myself away from this affair."

Disappointed at not getting the help of Jaswant Singh, Dara Shukoh encamped at Ajmer. The innumerable Rajputs, who had reached from all the sides, went back their homes, contingents after contingents, owing to the neutrality of Jaswant Singh. Tarbiyat Khan (1), the Governor of Ajmer, quitted that place owing to the arrival of Dara Shukoh and joined Aurangzeb. The Bakhshi-i-Mumalik Muhammad Amin Khan, who had been sent with an army of ten thousand horsemen against Jaswant Singh returned and encamped a few stages behind.

Dara Shukoh erected a fortification wall from the fort of Bithli to the Madar Hill, excavated trenches, and, mounting his artillery in fighting order, posted soldiers at various places and waited for an attack. Aurangzeb reached the precincts of Ajmer on 25th of Jumada II, 1069 A.H. (25th March, 1659 A.D.), and encamped at a distance of two *Korohs* from the enemy's trenches. On the first day Pur Dil Khan climbed upon a mound, which was at a distance of three *Korohs* from Dara Shukoh's trenches, with one hundred and fifty men and passed the night there. Next morning skirmishes took place between vanguards of the forces; at the same time Rad Andaz Khan and Abdullah Khan reached the top of the aforesaid mound with two or three thousand horsemen, while from the enemy's side Qrawal Khan advanced with nearly two thousand horsemen. The contest raged from the morning till $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pahar* (2) of the day (i.e., for $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours). In the meantime Bahadur Khan and Saf Shikan Khan arrived with the royal artillery and pushed the enemy back. Thereafter arrived the royal advance tent, and it was pitched three *korohs* from the enemy's trenches. The royal artillery was mounted at a suitable place against the enemy and the duel of cannons and muskets continued from sunset till dawn.

On the second day the royal artillery was carried a quarter of a *koroh-i-jaribi* (3) forward, and the exchange of cannon-balls

(1) Tarbiyat Khan Barlas, whose real name was Shafi Ullah Khan, entered the service of Shah Jahan. He rose under him to the rank of 2,000 *zat* and 1,600 *sawars* and had the title of "Tarbiyat Khan" conferred upon him. After the victory of Aurangzeb at Samnagath he waited upon the Prince at the garden of Nur Manzil and was appointed to look after the administration of Ajmer (See *Masiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I. pp. 494-498).

(2) *Pahar* is a division of time consisting of eight *gharis* and represents 1 8th of a day & night, i.e., the period of three hours.

(3) *Jarib* was a measure used for land survey. It consisted of a rope of cotton or jute, 60 Akbari yards long and divided into 20 parts marked by a leather band. An Akbari yard measured 41 fingers (thickness of fingers). (See *Risala-i-Diwan Pasand* by Ohhatar Mal, manuscript in possession of the Editor, folio 5 (b)). The term *Koroh-i-jaribi* seems to have been used to indicate the exact distance as measured with a *Jarib*.

and musket-shots on both the sides caused the death of many men. At about midday two thousand of Dara's armed horsemen came forward from the fortification-wall on both the sides of the royal artillery; Aurangzeb's soldiers moved forward to meet them. A contest with swords and spears ensued, which was brought to an end by the darkness of the night, but the duel of cannons, muskets, fire-works and rockets continued throughout the night.

On the next day the imperial army marched to the battlefield like a deluge. Shaikh Mir and Diler Khan were posted behind the artillery; Mirza Raja Jai Singh drew his columns to the right of the artillery, and the sons of Shayasta Khan with the contingent of their father took up their position to the right of Mirza Raja. Raja Rup Singh (Raja Rajrup Singh) (1) with a body of Rajput mountaineers climbed up the Madar Hill and established themselves there. About this time some two thousand soldiers sallied out of Dara Shukoh's trenches and tried to drive away Raja Rup Singh. The sons of Shayasta Khan repulsed these soldiers, and pursuing them reached the trenches at the foot of that hill, cleared them of the enemy and arranged their lines there. At the same time Shaikh Mir, Mirza Raja and Diler Khan attacked the enemy from the side of the garden of Abu Said, while Bahadur Khan with ten thousand horsemen advanced from the side of the Sagar. The enemy's army nearly ten thousand strong, sallied forth from the trenches under Shah Nawaz Khan and Qilich Khan and came face to face with Shaikh Mir and other officers of Aurangzeb. The struggle raged fiercely and a number of men were killed on both sides. In the evening a bullet from the enemy's artillery, which was under the command of Khuwajgi Mughal, struck Shaikh Mir on the breast, and he sacrificed his life for his master's cause. Diler Khan, marching forward bravely, drove the enemy back with his arrow-shots. He came upon Shah Nawaz Khan, who,

(1) Raja Rajrup Singh was the son of Raja Jagat Singh. In the 12th year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed *Paujdar* of Kangra, and after the death of his father was granted the title of Raja and the rank of 1,500 *zat* and 1,000 *sawars*. He took a prominent part in the expeditions against Qandhar, first led by Aurangzeb and after him by Dara Shukoh, and gradually rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawars*. He was summoned by Dara Shukoh to fight for him against Aurangzeb; in the meantime Dara was defeated at Samnagarh and Raja Rajrup Singh met him on his way to Lahore between Delhi and Sarhind. The Raja abstained from espousing the cause of Dara, and entered the service of Aurangzeb. The latter raised his rank to 3,500 *zat* and *sawars*, and appointed him *Thanedar* of the village of Chandi on the frontier of Siri Nagar, to guard the movements of Sulaiman Shukoh, who had taken refuge at Siri Nagar. Afterwards he returned to the Court and took part in the battle against Dara Shukoh at Ajmar. Raja Rajrup Singh's feat of climbing up a hill with his mountaineer followers is also related in the *Maasiru-l-Umara* but the hill is called there as Kokla Pahari (the Kokla hill) (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 277-281).

posted on an elevation among his trenches, was inciting his soldiers to fight, and killed him with a rock-splitting arrow and placed his body on an elephant. Qilich Khan, otherwise known as Muhammad Sharif Safdar Khani, received several wounds and retired from the contest. When night fell, the army of Dara Shukoh was defeated and fled in every direction. The soldiers of Aurangzeb captured all the trenches of Dara Shukoh and pushed themselves into the enemy's camp.

The officers of Aurangzeb then turned towards Dara Shukoh, who sitting on the dam (*band*) of the lake, had been watching the battle. Dara considering the opportunity favourable fled away in the darkness of the night. He placed the ladies of his harem in front and marched by way of Nagor to Gujrat. His flight was so rapid that for three days no one could discover the direction in which he had gone. Qilich Khan, who was unable to ride on account of his wounds, went to the trenches of Saf Shikan Khan. They stitched his wounds which were, however, mortal and he breathed his last.

The drum of victory was beaten in Aurangzeb's camp and spoils beyond computation came into the hands of his men. Many servants of Dara Shukoh appealed for the forgiveness of the Imperial Court, while Dara 'wandered in the valley of adversity' with a few followers. Raja Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan with eight thousand horsemen were dispatched to pursue him. Jaswant Singh, who was too ashamed to present himself before Aurangzeb, was appointed, at the recommendation of Raja Jai Singh, to the post of governor of Gujrat and he went to that province. This victory took place on 29th Jumada II, 1069 A.H. (24th March, 1659 A.D.), and on the 4th of the following month (*Rajab*) Aurangzeb set out for Shahjahanabad and on reaching there took up his residence in the royal palace.

Aurangzeb established his government on the foundation of justice and spread the shadow of his benevolence and liberality on all communities. He strove to the utmost to strengthen the *Din-i-Matin* (firm faith i.e. Islamic religion) and to give prevalence to the *Shariat-i-Sayidu-l-Mursilin* (law of the Prophet, i.e., Islamic law). All the ancient mosques, which had been ruined by passage of time and had been lying uncared for, owing to negligence of previous rulers, were repaired and restored, many of these mosques having been constructed by the Emperors like Firoz Shah, Bahlol Lodi and his descendants. *Imams*, *muazzins*, *khatibs* (1) and other servants were appointed,

(1) *Imam*, *muazzin* and *khatib* are attached to a mosque to render their respective services in connection with congregational prayers. *Imam* leads or conducts congregational prayers; *muazzin* cries out *azan* (call for prayers) to assemble people to prayers; *khatib* delivers *khuṭba* or sermon, praising God, blessing the Prophet and praying for King in the congregational prayers of Fridays and *Ida*.

and stipends for them were fixed. Students were granted daily allowance according to their attainments and they busied themselves in the pursuit of religious studies with peace of mind; the practice of teaching and learning received an impetus, and the religion of Islam and the religious sciences flourished and prevailed. Further in accordance with the Quranic verse "Honour to the believers and disgrace to the infidels" the followers of the (Islamic) religion, observing the precepts of the Prophet (*Sunnat-i-Khatimu-n-Nabiin*), were conferred upon the greatest favours, while innovators in matters of religion, heretics, wanderers from the right path of *Shariat*, atheists and the people addicted to discord and evils were warned and suitably punished, so that refraining from their improper and detestable actions, they began to follow the learned and the theologians and took to fasting and prayer.

Sarmad (1), who had been overcome by his love for a Hindu boy and lived by his misfortune in a wretched manner, was 'deprived of the garment of life' in accordance with the judgment (*fatwa*) of the scholars of *Shariat* for his nakedness and refusal to cover those parts of his body which it is forbidden to expose. He placed his head before the executioner without any hesitation and sorrow in accordance with the verse "If swords rain in the lane of that moon, I bow my head: order is for God". With his last breath he sang, "The nakedness of my body was a dust-cloud in the path of the friend; this, too, they cleared from my head with the sword".

In short the mosques and places of worship became pleasant and attractive. During these days the Emperor arranged for the celebration of his enthronement again. The low and the high, and people from far and near were granted largesses, honours and promotions in their ranks and salaries. There was universal jubilation, and the workshop of the State and the royal palace were adorned anew and immensely decorated. During these celebrations the delightful news of the

(1) Sarmad was originally a Jew or rather a *Rabbi* (Jewish Doctor of the Law), but he embraced Islam and came to India as a merchant. When he reached Thatta, he fell so passionately in love with a Hindu boy, named Abhi Chand, that he became distracted and took his seat stark naked at the house of the Boy, who subsequently developed an attachment for him. Sarmad was, however, a *Sufi*, and was so deeply immersed in mysticism that he became oblivious of himself and of the world. In this condition he came to Delhi during the reign of Shah Jahan, and moved about the city naked. This could not be tolerated when Aurangzeb ascended the throne, but Sarmad disobeyed the royal order and was put to death. His tomb is opposite to the eastern gate of the Jami Masjid of Delhi and is revered as that of a saint. Sarmad was also a poet and is generally known by his nom-de-plume. His real name is said to have been Muhammad Said; he seems to have assumed it when he embraced Islam (See *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Persian text, Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1904, p. 242, and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 353).

arrest of Dara Shukoh was received, and it contributed to the height of joy and happiness.

IX

After the defeat of Shah Shuja at Khajwa and his flight, Sultan Muhammad was deputed to pursue him and expel him from Bengal. Muazzam Khan, the prime minister, was detailed to accompany the prince as his tutor (*ataliq*) and commander of the forces. An army consisting of thirty thousand horsemen, including big rank-holders, such as Zulfiqar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Islam Khan, Fath Jang Khan (1), Lodi Khan, Ihtisham Khan (2), Daud Khan, Kunwar Ram Singh, Raja Debi Singh (3), Raja Sujan Singh (4), Indarman Dhandera, Sayid Firoz Khan, Rao Bhao Singh (5) son of Rao Satar Sal, Sayid Muzaffar

(1) Fath Jung Khan Rohela, whose real name was Fath Khan, was the son of Zakariya Khan. In the 26th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, he was appointed *Faujdar* of Taundapur in Khandesh, and subsequently *Faujdar* of Chopra in the same province with the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 800 *sawars*. While he was staying in the Deccan, he was attached to Prince Aurangzeb and accompanied him when he marched from there to fight for the throne. After the battle with Jaswant Singh, he obtained the title of "Fath Jang Khan," and his rank was raised to 2,500 *zat* and *sawars* (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 22-26).

(2) Ihtisham Khan was the second son of Qutubu-d-Din Khan Shaikh Khuban. He held the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 400 *sawars* under Jahangir and was gradually promoted to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawars* in the reign of Shah Jahan. He was deputed with Sulaiman Shukoh to fight against Shah Shuja, when he was granted the title of "Ikhlas Khan" and appointed governor of Patna. He entered the service of Aurangzeb, and in the first year of his reign obtained the title of "Ihtisham Khan" (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 220-222).

(3) Raja Debi Singh was the son of Raja Bharath. After the death of his father he was granted the rank of 2,000 *zat* and *sawars* and the title of Raja in the 7th year of the reign of Shah Jahan. For his good services he was recognized as the chief of Bundhela Rajputs and appointed *Faujdar* of Bhilsa. He accompanied Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan in the campaign against Bijapur in the 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign, but was called back in the following year and was deputed with Raja Jaswant Singh to obstruct the passage of Aurangzeb from the Deccan. On the defeat of Jaswant Singh he entered the service of Aurangzeb at the recommendation of Murad Baksh (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 225-297).

(4) Raja Sujan Singh Bundhela was the son of Raja Pahar Singh. He entered the service of Shah Jahan during the life-time of Jahangir, and after the death of that Emperor he was raised to the rank of 2,000 *zat* and *sawars* with the title of Raja. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign, he was detailed to the Deccan to serve under Aurangzeb, but was soon called back and deputed with Raja Jaswant Singh to obstruct the passage of Aurangzeb. He did not take part in the battle fought by Jaswant Singh with the Prince, but fled away when it was raging. Soon after he entered the service of Aurangzeb and fought for him against Shah Shuja (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 291-295).

(5) Rao Bhao Singh was the son of Rao Satar Sal who fought for Dara Shukoh at the battle of Samugarh and was killed. Soon after the accession of Aurangzeb, Rao Bhao Singh offered his services to him and was granted the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawars*. He took part in the battle of Khajwa against Shah Shuja (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 305-307).

Khan (1), Sayid Shujaat Khan (2), Ikhlas Khan Kheshgi and Rashid Khan Ansari, was placed under the control of the Prince, who marched with great pomp and dignity intent on annihilating his exalted uncle. Shah Shuja encamped at Bahadarpur on the bank of the Ganges and established himself firmly. Since Sayid Kasu had on this occasion fortified the fort of Allahabad and adopted measures to defend it on behalf of Shah Shuja, Bahadur Khan induced him with the promises of royal favours to vacate the fort and make it over to Khan-i-Dauran. Sayid Kasu collected some of the useless articles of Sulaiman Shukoh which Shah Shuja had rejected and proceeded to attend the royal court. Prince Sultan Muhammad reached the precincts of Bahadarpur, but owing to the river being flooded, he was unable to cross it with such a big army at that ford. He, therefore, marched up-stream, and fording the river near Allahabad came upon the enemy by way of Chunar. Fidai Khan, in accordance with the imperial orders had marched ahead from Gorakhpur, and he reached the outskirts of Patna eight days before Shah Shuja. Nuru-l-Hasan, who had been granted the title of Saif Khan by Shah Shuja and held the governorship of Patna, burnt the *niwara* (flotilla of boats) and reported the arrival of Fidai Khan to Shah Shuja. The latter broke his camp at Bahadarpur and rushed to Patna, but without entering the city he encamped at the garden of Jafar Khan. He, however, considered it unwise—in fact impossible—to hold on to his position, and moved on to Monghyr.

Sultan Muhammad reached Patna with all his army eight days after the departure of Shah Shuja, and Fidai Khan joined his army there. Since Shah Shuja had established himself at Monghyr and had adopted measures to stop the crossing of the river by the imperial army, it was not possible for Sultan Muhammad to proceed on by that way. Consequently he marched by way of Khera Kapur and moving surreptitiously appeared on the precincts of Monghyr. Shah Shuja, on hearing

(1) Sayid Muzaffar Khan of Barah, whose real name was Sayid Zaman, was the son of Sayid Khan-i-Jahan. He was only a child when his father died, but was granted the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 250 *sawars* by the Emperor Shah Jahan. He continued to receive royal favours and was deputed in the company of Mir Jumla Muazzam Khan to the Deccan to serve under Aurangzeb. The royal forces engaged in the conquest of Bijapur under Aurangzeb were summoned back at the instance of Dara Shukoh, but Muzaffar Khan did not comply with the order. He accompanied Aurangzeb when he marched from the Deccan, and was granted the title of "Muzaffar Khan" (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 465-467).

(2) Sayid Shujaat Khan Bhikri was the son of Sayid Lutf Ali Bhikri. He had been in the service of Shah Jahan but was allowed to retire in the 27th year of his reign due to old age. Subsequently he was granted the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 500 *sawars*. On the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne he offered his services to him and fought under him against Shah Shuja and Dara Shukoh. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 460-461).

of the arrival of the imperial army, fled from Monghyr to Garhi and encamped there. When Monghyr came in the possession of the imperial army, Raja Bahroz, the Zamindar of Monghyr, inevitably deserted Shah Shuja and attended on Prince Sultan Muhammad. He placed his services at the disposal of the Prince, and acting as a guide led the royal troops towards Chahar Khand. The Raja marched in advance and arranged for the encampment of the imperial forces at places where water and fodder was to be found in abundance; he also appointed his men to bring corn for the army from all directions. As the Chahar Khand Road runs through narrow passes and the country is rugged, difficult to cross and entirely uninhabited, the army maintained the same order of right wing, left wing, centre, advance-guard and rear-guard which had been sanctioned by the Emperor. Zulfikar Khan with ten thousand horsemen was appointed to command the van; Islam Khan with five thousand horsemen was put in charge of the right wing and Fida'i Khan with five thousand horsemen of the left wing; Muazzam Khan together with Kunwar Ram Singh, Ikhlas Khan Kheshgi, Rao Bhao Singh and Sayid Muzaffar Khan marched in the company of Sultan Muhammad; Daud Khan with two thousand horsemen flanked the right wing and similarly Rashid Khan Ansari with two thousand brave troopers flanked the left wing. When after travelling for twelve days through the jungle of Chahar Khand, they entered the territory of the Zamindari of Khuwaja Kamal, they suddenly heard an alarming rumour that shook the firmness of the soldiers. It was reported that at the battle of Ajmer, Darn Shukoh had won the day and that Aurangzeb had retired to the Deccan. Naturally this caused a panic in the imperial army, among whom it was a general talk that Sultan Muhammad with Muazzam Khan and all the royal household would pass on to the Deccan by way of Orissa. Owing to their ignorance and lack of wisdom, Kunwar Ram Singh, Bhao Singh, Chandrawat, Chatar Bhoj Chauhan, Sher Beg and Sayid Shujaat Khan believed these false rumours to be true without any hesitation, and in consultation with each other they left the imperial army with four thousand horsemen and marched back towards Akbarabad. The imperial army, however, marched from the territory of Khuwaja Kamal to Maqsudabad and proceeded from there to Rajmahal. Shah Shuja starting from Garhi, hastened to Rajmahal, and placing the members of his family together with all the household, effects and goods on boats fled to Doghchi which is at a distance of eight *Korohs* from Rajmahal; and established himself there. Alawardi Khan avoided to accompany him and remained at Rajmahal. The Prince was greatly annoyed at this; he returned to Rajmahal and arrested Alawardi Khan with his son Saif Ullah. They were assigned to the charge of Sayid Quli, who put both of them to death at the instance of Shah Shuja. After the assassination of those innocent men; Shah Shuja went back to Doghchi and crossed

the Ganges with his harem, household and workshops. Owing to many small rivers, brooks and streams falling into it here, the Ganges has its breadth half a *Koroh-i-Jaribi*. Shah Shuja fortified that place, maintained a *niwara* (flotilla of boats) and encamped in great strength there. At the same time the imperial army reached the suburbs of Rajmahal. About four thousand soldiers of Shah Shuja, who had, up to that time, been unable to cross the Ganges, lost their presence of mind and returned in their helplessness to Rajmahal. Zulfiqar Khan entered the city with four thousand horsemen; he treated these men of Shuja with favour and sent them all to Sultan Muhammad so that they might be taken into the royal service. Sultan Muhammad pitched his tents opposite to the enemy on the other side of the river. Muazzam Khan separated from Sultan Muhammad and encamped at the premises of the village Soti, where the river is narrow and five streams, branching off from the main current, flow to that direction. He took this action to prevent the enemy from carrying his flotilla to Patna by that way. But Shah Shuja took the whole of his flotilla to Patna and stayed there.

Muazzam Khan secured a few boats and detailed nearly three thousand of his soldiers to cross the Soti stream. But Sayid Alam, who under the orders of Shah Shuja had encamped opposite to Muazzam Khan with one thousand soldiers, discovered that they were crossing the river and fell upon them all of a sudden. Many of the imperial soldiers were drowned and the rest were imprisoned and sent to Shah Shuja. Sayid Alam proceeded to Kosi and encamped there. Only a few men escaped from this disaster and returned to the camp of Muazzam Khan. The campaign undertaken by Muazzam Khan could not, due to misfortune, succeed, but it resulted contrary to the plan. Daud Khan with five thousand horsemen was directed to proceed to that place (Kosi) from Patna, and Rashid Khan also joined him under the orders of Sultan Muhammad. But Khuwaja Mushki with a thousand horsemen came out of the army of Shah Shuja, got into *niwara*, and proceeding with great haste to that direction encamped opposite to Daud Khan and prevented him from crossing the river. When two months passed in this manner, Sultan Muhammad, who was the head of the army, forsook the affection of his father in foolishness and vanity of his youth, and turned to Shah Shuja. He sent petitions of his sincerity, and after agreements and promises were firmly made, one dark and stormy night, he took some precious stones, ornaments studded with jewels and *qshrafts* (gold mohurs) and accompanied by two or three eunuchs and confidential servants he got into a boat and went to Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja was led to believe that as the Prince, who was the head of the imperial army had gone over to him, the imperial forces had no option but to offer their obedience to him; in this expectation, he despatched his *niwara* to bring all the imperial

officers and soldiers to pay their respects to him. This astounding event created a tumult in the imperial army; high and low began to think of measures for the execution of this expedition and the protection of their own interest. The army without its chief was like a headless trunk; confusion reigned in it and the discipline was disturbed. Ultimately the *amirs* and officers assembled together, received the *niwara* with cannon-balls and musket-shots, and came forward to fight. Consequently the *niwara* retired. On the third day Muazzam Khan came from Soti and Zulfiqar Khan from Rajmahal; they held a council for discussion in which all the prominent officers of the imperial army were present. After a controversy Muazzam Khan was elected the chief of the army. Then Muazzam Khan returned to Soti with the grandeur of chieftainship and Zulfiqar Khan went back to Rajmahal, while Fidaï Khan, Islam Khan and other *Khans* with seven thousand horsemen stayed at Doghoi. The imperial army was thus reorganized, and the flight of the Prince meant the loss of one man only.

At last the monsoon set in, rain began to fall in torrents, and the Ganges with all its tributaries swelled in floods. Muazzam Khan encamped with fifteen thousand horsemen at Masuma Bazar owing to the excessive rainfall and, suspending the operations, allowed the army to rest. Fidaï Khan and Islam Khan with fifteen thousand horsemen stayed on at Rajmahal according to the advice of Muazzam Khan. It was arranged that corn for the army at Rajmahal would be supplied from Masuma Bazar. But contrary to this arrangement not a grain could reach Rajmahal from Masuma Bazar, and the army at Rajmahal was reduced to distress by excessive rainfall and lack of corn. The famine was so severe that corn could be had with great difficulty at the rate of five seers for a rupee, and sometime could not be obtained for any price. Rajmahal is only a mound, which was surrounded by deep water, and as it was not possible to import corn sufficient for men and beasts, famine and distress prevailed there beyond description, rendering the people helpless. Consequently after two months, when the soldiers were completely exhausted, they broke the camp, hastened to Muazzam Khan at Masuma Bazar and were relieved of the tortures of famine. Shah Shuja put his army in order, came out of the 'fortress of water', entered Rajmahal all of a sudden and stayed there for two months.

When the rainy season was coming to an end and the floods and the force of currents subsided, Shah Shuja put his forces in order and marched defiantly against Muazzam Khan. The latter, discovering Shuja's movements, came out of Masuma Bazar and after marching four *Korohs*, crossed a streamlet, that winds through that region, and encamped on the other side of it. To enable the imperial force to cross with ease, he constructed two bridges across the river, one opposite to his camp and the other half a *Koroh* lower down the stream. Twelve days later, Shah

Shuja marched boldly from his camp to attack Muazzam Khan who came forward to meet him. The battle began with all ferocity at one and a half *pahar* ($4\frac{1}{2}$ hour) after the break of the day. Then Shah Shuja, acting on the principle that 'war is a deception', resorted to a trick. He calmly turned his reins from the battlefield and retired with his army in good order; it was rumoured that he abandoned the contest and was returning to Rajmahal. Consequently all the officers and commanders of the imperial army crossed the bridge in pursuit of him. Shah Shuja suddenly rushed to the bridge which had been constructed half a *Koroh* down the stream and fell upon Yakka Taz Khan (1), who was posted with four hundred horsemen to guard it. Flashing like a thunderbolt, he put the Khan and his followers to death with arrows and swords, and crossing the bridge made an assault on the rear of the imperial forces. But when Shuja's soldiers approached the second bridge, which was opposite to the imperial army, Zulfiqar Khan with six or seven soldiers boldly dashed to the bridge and set it on fire. The bridge caught fire and the flames leaped up. The enemy, unable to cross the bridge, drew up his lines on this side of the stream. Had Zulfiqar Khan not succeeded in this courageous enterprise and Shuja crossed the bridge, a disaster would have undoubtedly overwhelmed. The imperial army and the campaign would have failed. Muazzam Khan now got an opportunity to recover. He marched in pursuit of Shah Shuja and reached the bridge where Yakka Taz Khan had been put to death. Isfandiyar Khan, a general of Shuja, was standing on the bridge; he tried to prevent the imperialists from crossing but was put to death by blows of their swords. When Shah Shuja heard that Isfandiyar Khan had been killed and that the imperialists had passed across the bridge, his firmness was shaken, and unable to fight any longer, he retreated with Sultan Muhammad, Khan Beg and four hundred soldiers to the village of Gheria and established himself there, while the imperial army surrounded that village 'like a ring'. But as the sun was setting and the night was enveloping the universe in darkness, Muazzam Khan set free the game that had fallen into his net and retreated to his camp. "Experienced warriors", he said, "have not approved fighting with an enemy, if he has been grievously injured, during the evening and at night. He cannot escape me now, when the light of the morning dawns. I will besiege and capture him".

(1) "Yakka Taz Khan, whose real name was Abdullah Beg, was the son of Haji Mansur of Balkh. Haji Mansur was governor of Balkh under Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh, but on the invasion of Balkh by Prince Murad Bakshi, he surrendered the fort of Timiz and entered the service of Shah Jahan with his two sons, Abdulla Beg, the younger son, rose to the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 800 *sawars* under Shah Jahan and was granted the title of 'Mukhlis Khan'. He was deputed with Raja Jagwant Singh to obstruct the passage of Aurangzeb from the Deccan, but after the defeat of the Raja he offered his allegiance to Aurangzeb, who raised his rank to 3,000 *zat* and 1,500 *sawars*, and conferred upon him the title of 'Yakka Taz Khan'. (See *Maasru-i-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 984-979).

Shah Shuja spent that night and the succeeding day in that village. His scattered forces came and joined him from all directions; in short a great army collected together.

On the third day Shah Shuja came out of the village of Gheria in full force and began to move towards Soti; the imperial army followed in pursuit. After twenty-nine days they reached the precincts of Soti. Here suddenly Shuja turned back and fell upon the imperialists; as the latter had been marching without any order, they were taken by surprise, but willy-nilly they had to fight. The battle began at *asr* time (late afternoon); only four thousand imperialists could reach the field, the rest were lagging behind. Zulfiqar Khan, who had three thousand horsemen with him had to oppose Shah Shuja; he was joined by Fidaï Khan who came up to him with two hundred horsemen. The whole brunt of the struggle was borne by these two Khans, who fought with the enemy courageously. At the time of arranging the battle-lines there was an elevated ground in front of Islam Khan and other officers; this protected them. Muazzam Khan, who was commander of the army moved from behind Zulfiqar Khan to Islam Khan and stayed there. Thus the stiffest and most difficult part of the contest fell to the lot of Zulfiqar Khan and Fidaï Khan. The battle of arrows, cannon-balls and musket shots raged till midnight. Three times Shah Shuja rushed down from the mound, but the imperialists drove him back with arrows and cannon-balls. This continued till a little past midnight, when neither party had any gun powder or arrows left. The warriors, exhausted by their exertions, gave up the contest, pitched up their tents and stretched their feet to rest; people entrusted with night-watch, however, kept their eyes open like the moon till the morning.

On the following day the imperial forces, 'contingent' after contingent, began to reach the battle-field. Shah Shuja, finding himself unable to meet them, proceeded to Tanda, while the imperialists marched on to Rajmahal. Islam Khan and other officers fixed their headquarters at Doghchi. Daud Khan, who had been staying at Kosi, because his way was blockaded by Khuwaja Mushki, compelled the latter to fall back and join Shah Shuja. Mukhlis Khan and Abdu-r-Rahman Khan (1) came to join the imperial army with two thousand horsemen. Diler Khan with two thousand of his own followers left Doghchi after the battle (at Gheria) and joined Daud Khan and Rashid Khan at Kosi. Since Daud Khan brought a small *niwara* with him from Patna, the imperial army crossed the river on it and encamped by the river-side seven miles from Malda.

(1) Abdu-r-Rahman Khan was the youngest son of Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh. He had been in the service of Shah Jahan, holding the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 500 *qawids*, and was posted in Bengal. On the accession of Aurangzeb he entered his service, and fought for him against Shah Shuja at Khajwa. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 809-812).

At this time Sultan Muhammad, who owing to his mischievousness (*badmaashi*) had begun to entertain suspicions against Shah Shuja, returned to the imperial camp in the same way as he had left. As before his arrival he had expressed his intention to Islam Khan, asking him to intermeddle for his pardon, he went to his tent. An order was received from the Imperial Court that Sultan Muhammad should be sent there. In accordance with it, Muazzam Khan despatched the Prince in charge of Zulfiqar Khan and Fidai Khan. Zulfiqar Khan fell ill during the journey; and as his disease developed, he stopped at Allahabad. Fidai Khan placed Sultan Muhammad in a palanquin and taking every precaution proceeded further on with his own followers. On reaching the Guzar-i-Batani (the ford or passage of Batani), he met Marhamat Khan, who was entrusted with the task of bringing the Prince to the Court. He handed over the Prince to the custody of Marhamat Khan and departed to Gorakhpur, which had been assigned to him as Jagir for his salary. Marhamat Khan brought the Prince to Shahjahanabad. Sultan Muhammad, 'an enemy of reason,' was put into fetters and imprisoned; after some time he was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior.

Some two months after the despatch of Sultan Muhammad, Muazzam Khan discovered a ford and crossed the Malda river; but some three thousand of his men were drowned in the crossing. Shah Shuja lost his firmness of mind when he heard that the imperial army had forded the stream; he got into a boat with forty or fifty men and fled hastily without any equipment to Dacca. Muazzam Khan collected all the property, which the prince had left in his camp, and sent it in charge of Ikhlas Khan Khesghi to the Court. Islam Khan, irritated by the bad treatment (*badmashi*) of Muazzam Khan, had left for the Court before the crossing of the Malda river. Mukhlis Khan with all his followers stayed at Rajmahal in accordance with the orders of Muazzam Khan, while Muazzam Khan himself with the whole army marched to Dacca. On the arrival of the imperial forces, Shah Shuja lost all his hopes of governing that realm. He made some agreement with the *amirs* of the Magh territory, and getting into a *niwara* hurried to Rakhang with all his family and those forty or fifty men, who considering it imperative to be true to their salt, had remained loyal and faithful to him in prosperity and adversity, scarcity and affluence.

All the servants of Shah Shuja, along with Khan Beg, who was one of his chief officers, remained at Dacca. Muazzam Khan confiscated for the State and sent to the Court all the paraphernalia of Shuja's kingship, his valuable possessions and household property, which owing to lack of time and opportunity he had left behind. With the Divine favour the

whole of the empire of Hindustan now came into Aurangzeb's possession, and it became an envy of paradise by the blessings of his justice.

Sulaiman Shukoh had taken asylum in the hills under the protection of Raja Prithivi Singh, the Zamindar of Srinagar. At the advice of Raja Jai Singh, the Zamindar submitted to the Emperor and sent the Prince with his son to the exalted Court. As a reward for his service and his submission, Raja Pirthvi Singh was taken into the imperial service and raised to the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 500 *sawars*.

X

As Muazzam Khan was one of the leading men in the art of war and administration, fully acquainted with the principles of government, and as he brought the whole of Bengal from Shah Shuja's administration into his own control, he established himself there firmly; and prompted by his ambition and valour he undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Assam. That extensive empire occupies the northern portion of the country of Bengal. For a long time it had been free from the control of the Bengal army, and none of the rulers had ever ventured to conquer it. Guided by the good fortune of the Emperor and his own high resolution, Muazzam Khan made a sudden onslaught on the territory. The *marzban* (ruler) of Assam, in spite of his large army and equipment, was unable to fight or make a stand; he became a wanderer in the hills and sought security among the narrow mountain passes. The barbarians suffered from many severe diseases and epidemics owing to the inclemency of climate, and a large number of them died; the same disease also overtook the imperial army and many of them were laid up with illness. Nevertheless Muazzam Khan continued to be resolute and exercised his authority in that region for a year. At last he himself fell ill of a fatal disease and was confined to bed. Judging from the symptoms that his days were numbered, he opened negotiations for peace. He placed the ruler of the country, who had been reduced to a great adversity, under an obligation by withdrawing from his country after fixing a suitable tribute (*Peshkash*) on him. He returned ill to Bengal and died soon after on Wednesday, the 2nd of *Ramazan*, 1070 A.H. (12th May, 1660 A.D.).

On the 3rd of *Shawwal*, 1072 A.H. (22nd May, 1662 A.D.) His Majesty fell ill of fever, and the prolongation of his illness caused a great anxiety to his sincere well-wishers. But owing to the good intentions and wise policy of His Majesty there was no disturbance in the extensive empire of Hindustan, and the affairs of the government, having been organized on a proper basis, did not deviate from the moderate course till the Providence favoured him with complete recovery on the 1st of *Safar*, 1070 A.H. (15th September, 1668 A.D.) and the whole of the universe was resounded with this happy news.

In the month of Rajab, 1076 A.H. (1666 A.D.) Shah Jahan fell ill of stanguary (retention of urine) at the palace (fort) of Akbarabad, and after remaining in bed for a few days, he expired on Monday, the 26th of that month (1st February, 1666 A.D.), three *ghari-i-Najumi* (astronomical *gharis*) after sunset. He gave his parting advice with great courteousness and sagacity like prudent and discreet persons, and passed away with faith in God and the holy name (of Allah) on his lips. As none of the high princes or exalted *amirs* were present there at that time, a few of the eunuchs and others, contrary to the custom of illustrious kings and practice of his ancestors (Mughal Emperors), placed his coffin early in the morning on a boat and carried it by way of the river to the mausoleum (The Taj Mahal), which he had erected for this purpose. But the *qazis*, men of nobility and distinction, religious scholars, learned and pious men came from the city to say his funeral prayers, and putting his pure body into the grave according to the precepts of the Prophet, they assigned him to the forgiveness and mercy of the Lord—"Verily we are for Allah and to Allah we return." (1)

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